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ENGLISH HISTORY

1066-1832

1. Great Britain — Hist.

C. Riley. 11. 18. 18. 18.

CB
Grier

English History from the Norman Conquest to the Great Reform Bill :

by R. M. Grier and F. A. Hibbert.

1908

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

R 1944 L

PREFACE.

Our aim has been to write a suggestive guide to the study of English History. The Analysis at the head of each section is repeated in the margin, as a help in reading the narrative and in referring to the contents. The "references" in brackets are not necessarily intended as "authorities" for any particular statements but usually as indications where fuller treatment or more picturesque details are to be found. They are not inclusive and are purposely restricted, as a rule, to such books as are, or ought to be, generally accessible to boys ; we hope they will stimulate readers to study the subject much more fully than can be done by merely reading so small a book as this. The Maps are only intended as rough sketch maps.

R. M. G.
F. A. H.

Godfrey 9 June 1944

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INTRODUCTION.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

1. No National feeling
2. Norman influence already strong
3. England disorganised and disunited
4. William's Expedition—the Battle of Senlac 1066

English History by no means begins in 1066, but English History as it has actually developed may well be said to begin with the Norman Conquest. If that event had not occurred the whole course of our history would have taken a different direction and progressed on different lines.

The Norman Conquest is therefore an important turning-point, more important perhaps than any other event which has occurred in our annals except the conversion of the English to the Faith of the Church. But it did not start when William the Norman gave the signal to begin the battle of Senlac, neither did it end when Harold the Englishman fell beneath the standard.

In the Eleventh Century there was no National feeling among the English. Though England was a single kingdom and had been so for many years, it was very far from being a united one. The old rivalry between the various tribes which made up the English,—Saxons, Angles, and Jutes,—were reproduced in the keen rivalry which still continued between the great Earldoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. Local feeling was much stronger than national, and just as this very largely explains the Norman Conquest, so it explains how the country had submitted to be ruled by foreign kings,—Swegen, Canute, Harold I., and Hardicanute, all Danes,—from 1017 to 1042.

Moreover the Norman Invasion began long before William I. set out on his voyage across the Channel in 1066. There had long been much intercourse between the two nations, and the superiority of the Normans in education, skill, vigour, and strength of mind, gave them the influence such qualities always give to those who possess them. Moreover Edward the Confessor preferred the cultured Normans to his own unprogressive countrymen, and his upbringing and education had been among them. He therefore showed them every favour and promoted them in every possible way. Normans were placed in important offices. Robert of Jumièges was made Archbishop of Canterbury and the Sees of London and Dorchester were also filled with Norman bishops. Ralf of Mantes was made Earl of Hereford, and Norman Castles began to arise in various places. William Duke of Normandy himself visited England in 1051 and it was said that King Edward

1. No National feeling.

(Green ii, 1.)

2. Norman influence already strong.

A

(Freeman *N.C.* ii, 139) then gave him the right of succession to the English throne.

(Freeman *ch.* iii.)

3. England disorganised and disunited.

1066.

(Green ii, 2.)

The English keenly resented this foreign influence. But their mutual jealousies prevented them from making effective opposition. When Harold, son of the great Earl Godwin, was elected King it might have seemed that Englishmen would be able to re-assert their national independence. But their inability to unite proved their ruin. The quarrels of the great earls, which the weak and incapable king Edward (1042—1065) had failed to check, proved too powerful also for the strong and capable Harold. The election of one Earl displeased the rest. His own brothers, Tostig in particular, were the leaders of the opposition. Tostig owed a grudge to Harold for allowing him to be deprived of Northumbria a year ago, and he may have built hopes of the succession for himself on Edward's affection for him. With help from Normandy he even ravaged the south and eastern coasts of his native country.

There were others in England too who disliked Harold. The Normans and the Norman party did not forget that he and his father had been the champions of English influence all along, and his deposition of the Norman Archbishop in favour of the English Stigand offended most of the Clergy, for Robert had at any rate been lawfully placed in his position at Canterbury.

When William resolved on making the attempt to add England to his dominions, he thus found the way opened. England was disorganised. Harold had once, when wrecked on the shore of Normandy, been entrapped into swearing to support Edward's gift of the throne, so William was able to represent himself as the lawful heir, asserting his rights against a perjured usurper. He gave himself out as the champion of Church order against the tyrant who had set it at defiance, and thus he obtained the Pope's approval for and blessing on his "Crusade." Collecting supporters from far and near by these pleas and by the hopes of plunder which he held out, and rallying his own men, the finest soldiers in western Europe, he set out on his fateful enterprise.

Everything seemed to combine in his favour. While Harold was watching against him in the south, news came that Tostig the traitor had worked on the old Norse love of adventure and lust of conquest to such effect as to persuade Harold Hardrada to land in the south. Hurrying to save his country from the danger Harold won a splendid victory at Stamford Bridge in Yorkshire. As the shouts of the conquerors rose after the battle, news came that the Normans had landed in Kent.

(Freeman *N.C.* iii, 336-377.)

(Freeman *ch.* vii.)

Not a moment was lost. Harold hastened south to meet the new peril. But the Midlands and the north failed to appreciate the importance of the crisis, and the army which championed the cause of England on Senlac Hill was composed mainly of Harold's personal followers and the forces of the south and east only.

The English army was posted on the highest point of the hill of Senlac. This was joined to the hills behind by a narrow ridge with steep descents on either hand. To guard against charges of the Norman horsemen and against the long shooting of the Norman bows, a fence of crossed woodwork was built and a slight ditch was dug in front: behind this stood the warriors with their terrible English battle-axes, and the more rudely armed men of the National Fyrd.

William's front rank consisted of archers, his second of foot-soldiers armed with pikes and swords. The third was the main strength of the army, the knights mounted. When the two former ranks had shaken the defence, the horsemen were to deliver the crushing blow.

The stubborn defence of the English withstood all the attacks of the foot-soldiers, and the horsemen charged up the hill again and again in vain. They could not break into the English mass, and many a Norman knight fell dead at a single blow of the English axe, which crashed through shield and mail, often felling both horse and rider.

At last William's left wing recoiled down the hill in wild disorder pursued by the peasants. These forgot that their sole chance of victory lay in keeping their ranks firm till their assailants were exhausted. William at once saw the mistake. Wheeling the cavalry of his centre into the tumultuous crowd, the rash peasants were ridden down in a moment, and orders were issued that other parts of his army should pretend to fly. Again the excited English broke their ranks and rushed after the fugitives. The stubborn front was broken in many places and the battle was practically won.

But Harold himself, and his chosen bodyguard, still held their ground, and a long and bloody fight raged round the Standard of the Wessex Dragon and his own ensign of the Fighting Man. They could only stand firm and await the repeated charges of the Norman knights, for the supply of missiles had long since given out. The chronicler says "in the English ranks the only movement was the dropping of the dead: the living stood motionless." Their slaughtered enemies were heaped before them, and when evening drew on they were still unconquered. William then bade his archers shoot high in the air so that the arrows fell downwards upon the English. One of these chance shafts pierced Harold in the eye and gave him a mortal wound. The English defence wavered, broke, and melted into the forests at the rear. In the pursuit many of the Norman knights lost their footway on the sides of the narrow ridge and were plunged to the bottom where English fugitives turned to cut them to pieces. On both sides the loss was enormous; the English army was practically killed to a man, in the battle and the pursuit.

B. of Senlac, 1066.
(Freeman *N.C.* iii,
452-506.
Oman 150-165.
Green 79.)

WILLIAM I. 1066—1087.

- i. *Character and Title.*
- ii. *Completion of the Conquest*
 - 1, West ; 2, North ; 3, Welsh borders ; 4, Hereward
- iii. *Baronial Risings*
 - 1, Hereford and Norfolk ; 2, Robert in Normandy ; 3, Odo
- iv. *Settlement of England*
 1. The English : (a) Confiscation ; (b) afforesting ; (c) Castles
 2. Normans : (a) William's Feudalism (compared with English Feudalism)
 - (b) Reliance on English
 - (c) Scattered estates
 3. General : (a) Control over local administration
 - (b) Control over central administration (Witan)
 - (c) Control over revenue (Domesday Book 1085)
 - (d) Control over feudal levies (The Oath of Salisbury 1086)
 - (e) Control over National levies (The Fyrd)
 4. Ecclesiastical : (a) Strengthening of Papal power
 - (b) Strengthening of Royal Supremacy
 - (c) Separation of lay and ecclesiastical Courts
 - (d) Elevation of standard and dignity of clergy
 - (e) Diocesan re-organisation
- v. *Foreign affairs*
 - 1, Scotland ; 2, France.
- vi. *William's Death and Work.*

1. *Character and Title.*

(Stubbs 1, 314
Green 74-77.)

The new King was hard, austere, exacting and oppressive. His heavy hand made the English comprehend their national unity through a common suffering. But between man and man he was just, and he made and kept good order. Moreover he did so by his own power. He was his own Minister. His claims to the throne were threefold :

1. The legal title which he asserted was that he had been nominated heir by Edward the Confessor.
2. He was also elected King by the Witan, which he collected as soon as possible in London.
3. His real title came, of course, from his own strong arm.

The best title of the Norman King was the Norman Conquest.

II. *Completion of the Conquest.*
(Freeman ch. viii.)

That Conquest was not yet completed. But there was no real difficulty after the victory at Senlac. The resistance offered was merely local, and was easily crushed in detail.

1. *Welsh.*

Harold's sons stood out in the west of England, but they were quickly defeated at Exeter and Bristol.

2. *North.*

The north rose next year. The Normans in Durham were massacred and Waltheof, an English noble, seized York. William's prompt measures quickly crushed the rising, and in

the hope of gaining the English to his side Waltheof was made Earl of Northumberland.

Disaffection showed itself next in the Welsh borders, but its conquest was completed by the capture of Chester. 3. Welsh borders.

The last stand of the English was led by Hereward the Wake, and supported by Edwin and Morcar, in the Fenland. 4. Hereward.
(Freeman 158.)
1071.

With the fall of Ely the conquest of the English was ended. III. Baronial
Risings.

To crush the English William had been obliged to give great powers to his Norman Barons. These had accompanied him mainly in the hope of plunder and power. They found however that the strong king would no more tolerate opposition from his friends than from his enemies, and disappointment led some of them to challenge his supremacy.

In 1074 a dangerous rebellion broke out headed by the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk in conjunction with Waltheof. It was the first of a long series, extending through many reigns, of attempts by the Barons to assert their independence against royal power. It was crushed and Waltheof was executed. The Vale of York was ruthlessly laid waste. William's son Robert rose also in Normandy, but with no success (p. 8). 1. Hereford, Norfolk,
and Waltheof.
(Freeman 155,
165-170.)
(Green 82.)
2. Robert in Nor-
mandy.
1077.

In 1084 his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, rose, but William's strong hand was speedily upon him. William's own strengthening of the dignity of the Clergy (p. 7). made his own officers shrink from laying hands on a Bishop, but the king showed how he interpreted the arrangements he had made. "I arrest not the Bishop of Bayeux but the Earl of Kent" he said, and Odo remained a prisoner till the end of the reign. As the chronicler observes "if a man would live and hold his lands, need it were that he followed the King's will." 3. Odo.

William's methods for the settlement of his conquered country explain both the risings of English and Normans, and their failure. IV. Settlement o
England.
(Freeman ch. ix.)

The English lands were confiscated wholesale, on the plea of treason to the legal king. Much of the land so forfeited was given to Norman supporters to buy their allegiance. Much was, or became, Forest land, and this was made Royal Domain where the King's power was arbitrary and uncontrolled. It was reserved for the purposes of hunting (of which William like all the Normans was very fond), and revenue, and was regulated by special courts in which special Forest Laws were enforced with the utmost strictness. The towns were over-awed and held in check by strong castles, of which many still remain besides the Tower of London which is a typical example. 1. English.
a. Confiscation.

b. Afforesting.
(Freeman 171.

c. Castles.
(Oman 521-5.)

The Norman Barons hoped for feudal independence. They received the lands of the conquered English on condition of military service, and hoped to be supreme in their own domains with unlimited rights of private jurisdiction and powers of subletting. This was the feudalism of the Continent. But 2. Normans.
a. William's
feudalism.
(Stubbs i, 278.
(Green 83.)

William was far too shrewd to allow anything like this in his new conquest. He had seen its evil results in his own country and was not minded to allow them to be repeated.

(Compared with English feudalism.)

Feudalism of a sort, had long existed in England. The personal tie between the lord and vassal was strong, and it had been an accepted principle that "every landless man must have a lord." The vassals too had had rights of private jurisdiction (termed "Sac and Soc") within their domains. But the supreme authority of the central government had never been lost. The Witan was the highest court and to it the local courts were all subservient; and the military service which was done for land was not a rent payable to a personal owner, but a tax payable to the State. Thus although a vassal was allowed to sublet his land to another, the feudal service of this latter had to be rendered, not as on the Continent simply to the immediate superior, but to the power which was supreme over all, namely, the State.

(Stubbs i, 294.)

William extended these principles. The feudalism he allowed concerned the tenure of land only. Military service must be rendered to the King, but there must be no private jurisdictions outside the control of his own supreme authority. None were allowed to be hereditary, but all must come directly from the King. Private privileges and powers must be subordinated to national institutions and the central government.

b, reliance on English.

He was clever enough to make the English see that the tyranny of one was preferable to the tyranny of many, and the support of the English was one of his greatest sources of strength. Just as he had obtained recognition and election from the English Witan, so he maintained the old English local Courts alongside the Manor Courts of the Norman landholders. The National Army, the Fyrd, was retained, and organised alongside the Feudal Army.

(Oman 357.)

c, scattered Estates

To prevent any Norman Baron from becoming too powerful he guarded against the accumulation of great single estates. The rewards of his followers were spread over different districts and separated by great distances. The only exceptions were the great Palatine Earldoms on the borders where defence was needed against external foes: Durham, Chester, Shrewsbury, and Kent.

3. General.

a, Control over local administration.

b, Witan.

The supreme local official in each county was the sheriff, who was appointed by and answerable to, the King. The Witan was similarly dependent on the King, for, under the name of the *Commune Concilium*, it became much more distinctly than before a body of the King's advisers merely, without any power of acting. Theoretically it was the assembly of all great and small, who held land directly from the King. Of course only those were likely to attend who had wealth or influence enough to make their opinions

weighty, but even these knew they were the "King's men," and that the King could always appeal to the greater number who were absent. The first place in England was held unmistakably by the King.

By 1085-6 Domesday Book was drawn up. It was a general and minute survey of England, setting forth the holders of all the lands, with minute details of value and the conditions of tenure. The information was collected by Commissions, who gathered the particulars from information given on oath by chosen bodies of men in the several localities. This shows how the system of juries began.

Next year at Salisbury every landholder was required to swear direct allegiance, not only to his immediate lord, but also to the King. Such an oath of course cut away the basis of continental feudalism as a system of rule. The re-organisation of the National Fyrd has already been mentioned (p. 6).

William's ecclesiastical changes were much greater than his political. As the champion of the Pope (p. 2) his victory brought a much closer connection with the Papacy than had hitherto been known in England. The Norman Lanfranc became Archbishop, and Norman clerics, supporters of the Papacy, were everywhere promoted. But the royal power was maintained. Lanfranc as Papal Legate might exercise powers over the Clergy and even over the laity, but not when the king disapproved. Canons, (*i.e.* ecclesiastical laws) could only be made with the King's approval. Tenants in chief could only be placed under Church discipline by the King's permission.

The separation of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts which William brought about was caused by his desire to weaken as regards the king all powers within his dominions, as well as by his desire to strengthen the moral authority and dignity of the clerical office. He gave the Church, because she had the highest moral authority, a position independent of Norman baron and English freeholder, but in doing so of course he halved the power of each Court. The old English Courts had exercised both civil and ecclesiastical authority. There were now to be Courts with civil authority only and Courts with ecclesiastical authority only.

There would be sure to be difficulties if the civil power and the ecclesiastical power quarrelled, as they soon did. But the immediate results of these ecclesiastical changes were excellent. It was a gain that the clergy, who were drawn by them to the side of the Conqueror, should be on the side of rule and order. The general standard of the Clergy was raised. Lanfranc himself was the greatest scholar in Europe, and learning and morality rapidly improved. Monasteries, the only places where culture was to be found, and where an

c, Domesday Book.
(Select Charters 86.
Freeman 185.)

(Jury system.)

(Sel. Chart, 25.)

d, The Oath of
Salisbury.

e, National Fyrd.

4. Ecclesiastical.
Green 85.

a, strengthening of
Papal power.

b, strengthening of
Royal Supremacy.
(Select Charters 82,
Stubbs 1, 309.)

c, Separation of lay
and ecclesiastical
Courts.
(Select Charters 85.)

(G. & M. 49.)

d, raised standard
and dignity of
Clergy.
Education.
Monasteries.
Celibacy.

- example was shown of obedience flowing from duty instead from fear and from mere self-interest were encouraged. The marriage of the clergy was forbidden. This was done not merely because a married priest would be entangled in worldly affairs, but because it would in those days be almost impossible for him to escape from the lowering influence of a companion who was by no means looked on then as a helper and an equal. The true remedy no doubt lay in raising the position and dignity of women, but that was not yet attempted. The building of Churches began to be of stone instead of wood and wattle. Edward the Confessor had already built Westminster Abbey in the Norman style, with its massive pillars, round arches, and zig-zag ornament, but now similar buildings arose at Canterbury, London (St. Paul's), Winchester (the Transepts), Gloucester, and elsewhere. Church organisation was improved. New Bishoprics were created at Ely, Llandaff and S. David's; and the "Bishop's Stool" in existing dioceses was removed from villages to towns. The Bishops of Dorchester, Sherborne and Selsey became the Bishops of Lincoln, Salisbury and Chichester, and were thus brought into closer touch with national life.
- G. & M. 48.)**
- Church building.** (Barnard 7.)
- (Barnard i.-iv, lxxii.)
- e, diocesan re-organisation.** (Stubbs i, 311.)
- V. Foreign affairs.**
- 1. Scotland.** (Freeman 152-154.)
- 2. France.**
- B. of Gerberoi, 1079.**
- VI. William's death and work.** 1087.
- William's turbulent relations with his subjects, English and Norman, were paralleled by those with his neighbours. The King of Scotland, Malcolm III., championed the claims of Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, whose sister Margaret he had married. In 1070 he invaded England. Again in 1079 while William was absent in Normandy he crossed the border with his troops. But on each occasion his success was small and shortlived. In 1072 he was forced to acknowledge William as his overlord, and the Lowlands of Scotland, where many of the men who held lands in England also had power, fell largely under "English" influence in regard to language and customs.
- With the King of France, who was nominally the overlord of the Duke of Normandy, William was constantly at war. He could not without difficulty exercise effective control over his domains across the Channel, and the King of France naturally tried to improve his own position by helping William's rebellious vassals. In 1073 Maine broke away from his rule but was reconquered, and Englishmen readily helped him in the task. In 1077 there was a rebellion of his eldest son Robert in Normandy, assisted by King Philip, William of Breteuil and Robert of Belesme. For a time it was dangerous but it ended in 1080 by a reconciliation with Robert.
- Another rebellion of Robert occurred in 1087. As William rode into Mantres which he had captured and given up to pillage and fire, his horse suddenly reared among the embers and William, internally injured by being flung against the saddle, was carried to Rouen to die.

He had done a great work. The effects of the Norman Conquest, so far as England was concerned, may be summarised as follows :

(Stubb i. 269.)

1. The Royal Power had been vastly increased by the Feudal changes in land tenure which William introduced and by the centralised system of government which he established, as well as by the other changes which he brought about.
2. In the Law, although the actual outward changes were small, yet the whole spirit of administration was changed through the close connection which was established between the old local institutions and the central authority. The Conquest did not destroy or abolish the old laws or institutions, but by modifying them it strengthened them, and in reality preserved them.
3. The Clergy were brought into closer connection with the Papacy and with the rest of Christendom. They were elevated and strengthened, though the separation of civil and ecclesiastical matters brought much trouble later.
4. In general the Nation grew in unity. Local and personal jealousies were kept in check under a strong king. Trade grew and towns prospered both from the improvement in peace and order, and from the closer connection which began with the progressive Latin nations of the Continent.

WILLIAM II. 1087—1100.

- i. *His character*
- ii. *His relations with the Baronage*
 - a. Attempts at repression
 - b. Rebellions
- iii. *The Clergy*
 - a. Flambard's abuses
 - b. Anselm appointed Archbishop of Canterbury
 - c. Outbreak of Quarrel
 - d. Council of Rockingham
 - e. Appeal to the Pope
- iv. *William's death and work.*

William I. had centred the whole power in the hands of the king. What would happen if the all-powerful king were a bad man? To this question William II. was to supply a speedy answer.

The Conqueror left three sons :

1. Robert, who became Duke of Normandy.
2. William, who became King of England.
3. Henry, who became, later, both King of England and Duke of Normandy.

- i. *William II's character.*
(Stubbs i, 328.
G. & M. 50.)

William II., called 'Rufus' from his red hair and ruddy complexion, was a man whose passions were utterly unrestrained. Like his father he was vigorous and masterful, but, unlike his father, he knew nothing of the claims of religion, morality, or even family. He seemed to represent selfishness in its most hateful form, and showed himself the enemy of God and man alike. His father's work had made him absolute, and his own talents enabled him to take advantage of the weakness and disunion of his subjects, to exercise his powers to the full and in the worst ways.

- (G. & M. 50.)
(Stubbs i, 324.)

He at once used for his own ends the support which the English had been wont to give to the King against the Baronage. Lust of power and lust of gold led him to embark on a vast career of plunder and tyranny. He showed how William I.'s feudalism readily lent itself to extortion. The skill and knowledge of Ranulf Flambard, his able and unscrupulous minister and abettor, showed how it could be made into a system of sheer oppression.

- ii. *Baronage.*
a, repressed and
robbed.
(Stubbs i, 319, 324.)

The Barons were taught that the conditions on which they held their lands subjected them to penal exactions in the form of Special Aids. Lands descending to a minor lapsed into the King's hands and during the minority were stripped and robbed. Reliefs were enforced to their fullest possible amount from heirs on attaining their majority, and from heiresses on

their marriage. The lands of the Church were plundered in the same way. The Sees were treated as lay holdings, and on a vacancy were dealt with like the rest. Long delays were purposely made before successors were appointed and the nominee had to agree to the robberies which had taken place in the interval, as well as to pay a heavy bribe for his appointment.

b, Rebellions.

The Baronage tried to resist, and Odo, who had been released, set up Robert of Normandy as King. But William cleverly threw himself upon the support of the English, and the National Fyrd rallied to his summons. Rochester Castle, which Odo had fortified, was speedily taken and Odo driven into exile.

1088.

Next year Archbishop Lanfranc died, and the sole check on the King was thus removed. No successor was appointed and Flambard's evil skill came into full play.

1089.

Robert again began hostilities, but Flambard collected sufficient money from the English to bribe the King of France to withdraw his support from his vassal. For a time, too, the energies of the Barons were turned into another channel by an outbreak of war with the Welsh. William skilfully freed himself from dangerous opponents among the Barons by letting them loose on the Welsh, allowing them to keep on easy feudal terms what lands they could conquer. In this way much of South Wales was brought under English rule.

1091-4.

1094.

Next year however saw another attempt of the Baronage to shake off the King's oppression. Robert Mowbray Earl of Northumberland rose, but William's victories at Newcastle and Bamborough brought about the capture of Mowbray, and the First Crusade which was everywhere attracting adventurous spirits drew off many of the discontented Barons from England.

1095.

Duke Robert of Normandy went with them, pawning Normandy to William to provide the expense of the expedition.

1096.

Meanwhile William had been engaged in a far more serious difficulty, and one which was complicated by religious and moral questions.

III. The Clergy.

In accordance with Flambard's general policy the see of Canterbury was left vacant on Lanfranc's death in 1089. That the estates were plundered and wasted and the see robbed was only the least part of the evil. The whole organisation of the Church fell into confusion, when there was no Archbishop of Canterbury, and the practical effects may be imagined when William I.'s action in regard to the Ecclesiastical Courts is remembered. Besides, the injury to religion and morality itself must have been very serious as year by year went by and no Archbishop was appointed.

a, Flambard's abuses.

At last a dangerous illness brought William face to face with the prospect of death, and before the King of Terrors even the Red King's courage failed. Anselm of Bec, who happened to

b, Anselm appointed Archbishop.
(Church, *St. Anselm*,
Green 73.)

be in England at the time, was forced, almost by physical force, to accept the dangerous office.

He was Prior of Bec, where he had succeeded Lanfranc, as he now succeeded him at Canterbury. The pupil had surpassed his master in learning and piety : indeed Anselm was famous throughout Europe for his theological and philosophical works.

c, Outbreak of quarrel.

The King no sooner recovered from his illness than he began to pick a quarrel with the Archbishop, with a bitterness which seemed to be increased by his remembrance of Anselm's reluctance to accept the office and his own share in forcing it upon him.

Anselm had refused to commit the sin of simony on his appointment ; and he had made it a condition of his acceptance that the revenue of the see which had been confiscated during the vacancy should be restored. Both these exasperated the King and were made grounds of complaint. Anselm as Prior of Bec had long ago acknowledged Urban as Pope : William alleged truly that his father had forbidden the recognition of any Pope without royal leave. But in the son's case royal authority was merely tyranny, used for the selfish ends of a bad man, while the strength of Anselm's position was that he stood for moral right and the higher claims of conscience.

(G. & M. 52.)
(Wakeman 98-101)

d, Council of Rockingham, 1095.

In vain the Bishops, who were appointed by the King, ranged themselves on the side of William. The better conscience of the nation was with Anselm. Barons and people supported him at the Council of Rockingham and the King was obliged to yield.

1097.

A fresh cause of quarrel was found on the outbreak of a Welsh rebellion in 1097. The Archbishop was summoned to answer in the King's Court on the charge of failing to fulfil his feudal obligations.

e, Appeal to the Pope.

He knew it was futile to hope for justice there for the King's Court simply registered the King's will. It was the same all over Europe, and this fact explains the power which the Papacy was winning at this time. For the Court of Rome, strengthened by the zeal and ability of great and good men like Hildebrand, was at this time a place where justice was, at any rate, the object, and where moral considerations ranked higher than brute force. No wonder therefore that the power of the Papacy was high : it was a triumph of moral rightfulness over mere arbitrary will. To the Court of the Bishop of Rome, so promising then, though soon to sink to a level as low as that of the kings of Christendom, Anselm appealed, and left the country to prosecute his suit.

(Trench ix, xl.)

IV William's death and work.

Soon after William was found dead in the New Forest. He had gone there to hunt, and none ever knew whether he had fallen by mistake or by the arrow of one of the many he had so grievously wronged. The charcoal burners who found his cold

body flung it on their cart, and in this tragic manner the Red King was borne to his grave.

He had failed to recover Maine (in 1099) but he had extended English dominions by the settlements in South Wales, and by the conquest of Cumberland after one of Malcolm's many raids in support of Edgar Atheling. Barons and people alike hated the King. But the people hated the Barons still more than the King. Barons and people accordingly could not unite, and each was too weak by itself to succeed in opposition. William's tyranny and extortions had increased the weakness of the Barons; and the people were weakened by the decline of the local Courts, over which the Sheriffs had been encouraged to usurp great power. Flambard's work had strengthened the government, and the King was possessed of immense energy and real ability. Thus, although there was bitter resentment, there was no successful opposition and order was maintained.

1092.

HENRY I. 1100—1135.

- i. *His title and character*
- ii. *Early measures to secure acceptance*
 - a. Election
 - b. Marriage
 - c. Flambard imprisoned
 - d. Charter of Liberties
- iii. *Baronial opposition*
 - a. Robert of Normandy
 - b. Robert of Belesme
 - c. The two Roberts—Tinchebrai—Conquest of Normandy
 - d. The Angevin marriage
- iv. *Administrative Reforms*
 - a. Official nobility—the Justiciar
 - b. Curia Regis
- v. *Quarrel with Clergy* (Anselm)
 - a. The Investiture dispute
 - b. The Compromise
- vi. *Henry's death and work.*

I. His title and character.
(Stubbs i, 341.)

Henry I. was the third son of William I. His brother had shown what the power which the Conquest had placed in the King's hands could become in the case of a rude and godless tyrant. Henry showed what it was when exercised by a statesman.

He was a strong ruler, cautious and self-controlled, if it were only because of the power which caution and self-control gave him. Methodical, wise, and far-sighted, a distinct policy runs through all his actions. In maintaining and strengthening his own position he maintained and strengthened justice and orderly rule for his people. In weakening his own enemies he weakened theirs. Thus the rule of order which he enforced, principally for the sake of his own advantage, paved the way for the rule of law, for the advantage of the whole people.

II. Early measures to secure acceptance.

a, election.

His turbulent eldest brother, Robert, was fighting far away in the First Crusade when William II. died. Henry was on the spot and at once obtained the crown. He was elected by a small body of Barons and Bishops, but the public opinion of the country confirmed the choice.

b, marriage.

His earliest measures were directed towards winning general support. He invited Anselm to return. He married Maud, the daughter of Malcolm of Scotland and Margaret of England grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside. He threw the hated Flambard into prison.

c, Flambard imprisoned.

d, Charter of Liberties, 1100.
(Stubbs i, 330.
Green 91;
Sel. Chart, 99)

He issued a Charter of Liberties by which he promised that
1. the clergy should be freed from exactions, and bad customs should cease ;

2. the Barons should see the abolition of the recent feudal innovations of Flambard and William II ;

3. the People should have justice and peace.

Its importance however is far greater than arises from the reforms it promised or brought about. (1) It was a distinct recognition of the principle that the King had duties as well as rights towards his people ; and (2) it served in years to come as the model upon which *Magna Carta* was framed.

It soon appeared that Henry needed the general support he had set himself to gain. His worthless brother Robert hurried back and came with a strong force to claim the crown.

Many Barons, especially those in Normandy, supported him but Henry rallied the National Fyrd and forced him to agree to a compromise. Henry was to retain England and Robert was to keep Normandy : the survivor was to inherit both.

Soon the dangerous and powerful Robert of Belesme, who had built strong castles on the Welsh Border, allied himself with the Welsh and made a bold bid for independence. Again Henry was successful. The Castles of Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth were taken. Robert of Belesme was banished and his power destroyed on the Border. Henry had the hearty support of the English who are said to have hailed his victory with the shout " rejoice King Henry, and thank God, for you became a free king on the day you drove Robert of Belesme from your realm." The Welsh were punished by having a colony of Flemish mercenaries planted in Pembrokeshire.

Belesme soon stirred up Robert of Normandy to break the agreement of 1100. With an army, of which his English foot-soldiers formed the main strength, Henry crossed the Channel, thoroughly defeated his opponents at Tenchebrai and captured his faithless brother. He was prevented from doing further mischief by being held a prisoner in Cardiff Castle till the day of his death, and Normandy was taken over by Henry. He spent most of the rest of his reign there.

The French King helped Robert's son, William Clito, to contest Henry's rule, and many Norman barons tried to struggle against the union. Desultory fighting went on for many years, but Henry seized the English estates of the Barons who were disloyal to him in Normandy, and detached William Clito's most powerful supporter, Fulk of Anjou, by agreeing to accept his daughter as the wife of Prince William. William was drowned in the "white ship" while returning from Normandy in 1120. Henry's own daughter Matilda married Fulk's son and heir, Geoffrey Plantagenet, in 1128. Their son became Henry II. of England.

Henry was by no means content to confine his abilities to the mere repression of baronial attempts at independence. He undertook great administrative reforms for the establishment of law and order. " He made peace for man and deer."

III. Baronial opposition.

a, Robert of Normandy.
(Stubbs, 33a.)

1100.

b, Robert of Belesme

c, The two Roberts.

Tenchebrai,
1106.
(Oman 379.)
Conquest of
Normandy.

d, The Angevin marriage.
(Green 97.)

(Green 98-101.)

IV. Administrative Reforms.

Official nobility.
(Green 96.)

The Justiciar.

(Sel. Chart, 16, 17.)

To counteract the hereditary baronage he created a *ministerial* nobility—men who had high dignity and great power not through birth but through the offices which they held from the King. They were therefore bound to uphold the King's authority for the sake of their own position. The head of these administrative officials was the Justiciar, and Roger of Salisbury who held this office from 1107 till the end of the reign was the prime mover in establishing the new order of things.

b, Curia Regis.

It was, as we have seen (p 6), an accepted principle that the King should rule by the help and advice of the *Commune Concilium*. But this body was too large to be able to deal with details, and the personal concerns of its members of course prevented them from meeting very frequently and sitting very long. But the work of government went on continually, and was daily growing more complicated. Roger of Salisbury and Henry accordingly created the *Curia Regis*: this was a standing committee of the *Commune Concilium*. It was permanent, and it consisted largely of permanent officials.

Its duties were of course entirely administrative. There was no progress yet even in the *Commune Concilium* towards powers of making laws: both it and its "Committee" were merely *advisers*.

The *Curia Regis* touched all points of the executive government. It was a permanent Committee of Advice. It managed finance through its officials of the Exchequer, and received the accounts of the Sheriffs twice a year. It administered justice and sent Justices Itinerant round the country both for financial and judicial work.

Its members, thus constantly employed, became skilled lawyers, financiers, and administrators. They strengthened the powers of the local Courts of the Shire and Hundred, over which they exercised effective control though the Sheriffs and the Justices Itinerant. The important position which the hereditary baron had formerly held was thus being destroyed at both ends. They were no longer the sole or even the chief men round the throne; they were no longer the sole or even the chief authorities in the counties and towns.

V. Quarrel with
Clergy.

a, Investiture dispute.
(Wakeman 103.)

Henry succeeded in establishing his royal authority over the Baronage, but failed to establish it over the Church. Anselm's quarrel with William II. had been one of honesty with brutal injustice. The one which broke out between Anselm and Henry I. was one of principle on both sides. Each recognised this, and the respect which each had for the other never wavered. The dispute was carried on with dignity and was finally settled in a statesmanlike way.

The old method of episcopal appointment had been for the King, in token of the royal supremacy, to give the Bishop his

ring and staff, (of course the Bishop was properly consecrated by other Bishops), and Anselm had naturally fallen in with the custom. But since then he had had experience of the dangers which underlay the royal supremacy. In the hands of a bad King like William II. it was fraught with the gravest perils to religion and morality. The experience of the whole of Christendom was of a similar kind, and during Anselm's stay at Rome the Lateran Council of 1099 had forbidden Bishops to receive from kings these outward emblems of their office. The object of the rule was to make it clear that the spiritual authority of a Bishop, and of the Church, came from a higher Authority than the King. Anselm accordingly refused to do Homage to Henry and forbade Bishops to receive lay investiture.

'Lay investiture.'

Yet he could not but acknowledge that Henry too had principle on his side. It was the King's duty to see that all his subjects had justice, whether from Bishops or Barons. It was the King's right that all men, Bishops as well as Barons, should pay him his allegiance for the protection his rule gave them and for the lands they held under him.

b. The Compromise.
(G. & M. 53.)

The Compromise which settled the question recognised the rights of both King and Church.

1107.

1. The King surrendered his claim to invest with ring and staff, thus acknowledging that the spiritual power of the Bishop did not come from him.
2. The Bishops in their capacity of landholders were to do Homage to the King like the other Barons, for their lands and temporal powers.

'Spiritualities.'

'Temporalities.'

It was a dignified, honourable, and excellent arrangement. It strengthened the moral power of the Church: it strengthened the political power of the Monarchy. If it saved the Clergy on the one hand from becoming merely landholders, dependent on the secular power, it also saved them on the other hand from becoming an isolated caste. They remained a national class, in touch with the Baronage and in touch with the King; able therefore to play the part of mediators in the constitutional struggle which was soon to begin between these two powers.

Henry succeeded in regard to the Baronage because his cause was right. It was needful for the national welfare and progress that the royal power should be supreme in material things. He failed in regard to the Church because his cause, as he originally stated it, was wrong. It was needful that even the royal power should realise that there was a higher Power than itself.

vi. Henry's death
and work.

Henry died suddenly in Normandy. He had maintained peace and good order, and so had made progress of all kinds possible. Trade increased. London and other towns grew in size and importance. A great religious revival in the Mon-

1135.

B

asteries made them again centres of culture. He had reunited England and Normandy and had extended English influence in Wales. He had preserved peace with Scotland. But he was only an administrator. He left a system only, and instilled no abiding principles of the order and peace he had so sternly enforced. It remained to be seen how such a system would fare when the mainstay and pivot of it all was removed.

STEPHEN 1135—1154.

- i. *Stephen* : a. his title and character
- b. his supporters
- c. measures to secure acceptance
 - 1. Charter of Liberties
 - 2. Concessions to Barons
- d. Sources of weakness
 - 1. his own character and actions
 - 2. selfish aims of Baronage
 - 3. Clergy alienated
 - 4. failure of government
 - 5. unpopularity
- ii. *Temporary Success*
 - a. The Fiscal Earldoms
 - b. Defeat of Matilda's supporters and Scots
- iii. *Breakdown of Government*
 - a. Feudal abuses
 - b. Outbreak of war
 - 1. Capture of Stephen
 - 2. Matilda's alienation of Londoners
 - 3. Stephen's release
 - 4. Siege of Oxford
 - c. Feudal anarchy
 - d. Treaty of Wallingford 1153
- iv. *Significance of the Reign*
 - a. Clergy strengthened
 - b. Monarchy strengthened
 - c. People strengthened

Henry I. had tried to ensure the succession of his daughter Matilda, who had married Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou (p. 15). But the Angevins were the hereditary foes of the Normans and Matilda herself was personally unpopular. Henry had made the Barons swear to support the title of herself and her son Henry (II.), but Stephen of Blois had little difficulty in creating a party in support of his own claims.

He was the son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela. Direct hereditary succession was by no means a settled principle of the English Monarchy, and the rule of a woman was a novelty, and may well have seemed a dangerous experiment to try in those turbulent times. Moreover Stephen, being less of a foreigner than Geoffrey, Matilda's husband, was for that reason more acceptable to the English.

In character he was brave, and with considerable military experience. This commended him to the Barons, as also, though for different reasons, did his easy-going good nature. In the result he was found to be quite unfitted for the post which he obtained. Gifted neither with a strong will nor a

i. *Stephen.*

a. his title and character.
(Stubbs i, 344.
Green 101.)

clear head, he never felt confidence in himself or inspired it in others. He was impulsive rather than tenacious, and tried to gain by ready promises and easy concessions what he should have secured by firmness and decision.

He was welcomed by London and the Merchants, and his brother, who was Bishop of Winchester, secured the general allegiance of the Clergy by promising them good government.

Like Henry I., Stephen issued a Charter in which he made large and general promises.

1. To the Clergy he promised freedom of election and action.
2. To the Barons he promised a withdrawal of Henry I.'s encroachments on their privileges and lands.
3. To the people he promised repression of the injustice and exactions of the Sheriffs.

Like Henry, too, he had a dangerous rival who found many supporters (p. 15). Stephen tried to strengthen himself not by weakening these, to the general advantage, but by actually strengthening them, to the general harm. Whereas Henry's reign had been marked by growing firmness of administration and steady improvement in order and rule, Stephen's rapidly sank into anarchy.

Matilda's title had been sworn to by all the nobles, Stephen included. Stephen was the first to break his oath, and the example of unfaithfulness which he thus set was only too readily copied both by his own adherents and by Matilda's. The Barons were divided between two motives, each equally selfish. On the one hand they hoped for independence under a Queen, and on the other they knew that Stephen would try to bribe them to his side by yielding them powers which they would use for their own advantage only, and to the harm of both king and nation. The Clergy soon found that Stephen's charter meant but little. They were offended by his violation of its promises; and his arrest of the Justiciar, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, at one blow alienated the clergy, the government officials, and the friends of settled rule; while it paralysed the administration of government.

Stephen's utter incapacity was soon seen. He wasted the Treasury and squandered the revenues on favourites. His use of Flemish mercenaries offended the national feeling which had given him the crown. He tried to bribe the Barons by giving them undue privileges, allowing them to build castles, and actually helping some of them by grants from the national exchequer.

For the moment he succeeded. Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, rose in support of her claims. Bigod and other Barons rose also. The Scots invaded the north. All these enemies were defeated, the Scots by the efforts of the National Fyrd at Northallerton. It was called the Battle of

b, his supporters.
(Stephens 144.)

c, measures to
secure acceptance

1. Charter of
Liberties.
(Stubbs i. 347.
Sel. Chart. 120.)

2. Concessions to
Barons.

d, sources of
weakness.

1. His own character
and actions.

2. Selfish aims of
Baronage.
(Green 102.)

3. Clergy alienated.
(Stephens 146.)

4. Failure of
Government.

5. Unpopularity.

II. Temporary
success.

a, "The Fiscal
Earldoms."
(Stubbs i. 350.)

b, defeat of Matilda
and Scots.
Northallerton
1138.

(Oman 386-91.)

the Standard because the Englishmen rallied round a car bearing the banners of the great English Abbeyes of the north, S. Peter of York, S. Wilfrid of Ripon, and S. John of Beverley.

(Norgate 1, 289)

But Stephen was unable to turn his good fortune to account. The Barons, his supporters and opponents alike, agreed in setting law and restraint at defiance. Stephen's folly in allowing them to build castles, and his ill-advised concessions, resulted in hopeless disorder. William of Newborough, the greatest historian of the 12th Century, wrote: "there were in England as many kings, or rather tyrants, as there were lords of castles. Each had the power of striking his own coin, and of exercising supreme rule over his dependents. As each was really for himself though nominally for Stephen or Matilda they fought among themselves with deadly hatred. They spoiled the fairest regions with fire and rapine, and in a country which had once been most fertile they destroyed almost all the provision of bread."

III. Breakdown of Government.

a. Feudal abuses.

When Matilda came to England she only added to the disorder. At first she found many supporters, and Robert of Gloucester on her behalf won considerable success. He even captured Stephen at Lincoln in 1141, and secured the recognition of Matilda as "Lady of England" at Winchester. But her weakness proved as great as Stephen's and offended all classes, especially the Londoners. Robert's capture gave Stephen his liberty, for the prisoners were exchanged, and the civil war continued with increased bitterness. In 1142 Matilda was besieged for some months in Oxford, and only escaped by the daring expedient of dressing in white when the ground was covered with snow and so avoiding detection.

b. Outbreak of War.

1. Capture of Stephen.
(Oman 392.)

2. Alienation of Londoners.

3. Stephen's release

4. Siege of Oxford.

The state of the country was appalling. The memorable words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are picturesque and vivid. "They filled the land full of castles, and they filled the castles with devils. They took those men that they thought had anything, both by night and by day, even peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver and tortured them. They laid imposts on the towns, and when the wretched men had no more to give they robbed and burned the towns, so that thou mightest well go a day's journey and never find a man sitting in a town or the land tilled. If two or three men came riding to a town all fled before them, thinking them to be robbers. Men said openly that Christ and His Saints were asleep."

c. Feudal Anarchy.
(Stubbs 1, 354.)

The extremity of the evil brought its own remedy. All became exhausted, and when, in 1153, Henry of Anjou, Matilda's son, landed in England from Normandy, which her husband Geoffrey had succeeded in taking and keeping, Archbishop Theobald brought about a settlement. The death of Eustace, Stephen's son, about the same time helped

d. Treaty of Wallingford,
1153.

(Norgate i. 400.)

the same cause. The terms of the Treaty of Wallingford were :
 1. Stephen was to be King, but the succession was to pass to young Henry.

'Adulterine Castles'

2. The independent strongholds which the Barons had built were to be destroyed.

3. There was to be a general reform of abuses and establishment of order.

Stephen died next year.

IV. Significance of the Reign.

a. Clergy.

(Green 103.)

The reign is important in the history of England. (a) It showed how much the measures of William I. and the work of Anselm had strengthened the Clergy. (1) The Clergy had had a large share in setting Stephen on the throne (p. 20); (2) their falling away contributed much to ruin his power; (3) the Treaty of Wallingford was largely the result of their efforts. (4) In the confusion into which the Civil Courts were plunged (p. 20) the ecclesiastical courts gained great extensions of power and authority, which were afterwards to prove sources of difficulty and trouble.

b. Monarchy.

(b) The reign showed Feudalism in its true colours. The misery which all alike suffered from the unfettered tyranny of the Barons drew together clergy and people in a common bond of union, ready to support a strong ruler.

c. People.

(Green 92.)

(c) In the general confusion the Towns prospered. Their own strong walls enabled them to defy the Barons, and in the desire of all parties to procure supporters they obtained many Charters of privileges, and shook off many restraints. While rival claimants were fighting for the crown municipal government within the towns made good progress.

HENRY II. 1154—1189.

- i. *His Character, Empire, and Policy*
- ii. *Period of Settlement* 1154—1163
- iii. *Constitutional Reforms*
 - a. The Great Council
 - b. Administration
 - 1. Curia Regis
 - 2. Justices Itinerant
 - 3. Jury system
 - c. Baronage weakened
 - 1. Fyrd strengthened
 - 2. Scutage introduced
 - 3. Sheriff
 - 4. Assize of Forests
 - d. Inherent dangers
- iv. *Struggle with Clergy* 1162—1170
 - a. real meaning of the struggle
 - b. Becket's rise
 - c. Becket Archbishop
 - d. Course of the struggle
 - 1. Illegal taxation
 - 2. "Benefit of Clergy"
 - 3. Constitutions of Clarendon 1164
 - 4. Henry's retaliation
 - 5. Becket's murder 1170
 - e. Effects of the struggle
 - 1. immediate
 - 2. ultimate
- v. *Imperial affairs*
 - a. Henry's difficulties
 - b. Baronial opposition—Great Revolt of 1173—Treaty of Falaise 1174
 - c. Later measures to weaken Baronage
 - d. Overlordship of Ireland: Strongbow
 - e. Overlordship of Wales
 - f. Overlordship of Scotland. T. of Falaise
 - g. Marriage alliances
 - h. Relations with France
- vi. *His death and work.*

Henry II., Matilda's son and Henry I.'s grandson, was twenty-one years old when he began to reign. He had a keen intellect, was not without ambition, was tenacious of power and energetic in deed. He was methodical and wary, clever in expedients, at once cautious and unscrupulous. His private life was vicious, and his temper passionate, but this seldom affected his public actions. He left on the Constitution the marks of his own vigorous character, and we may gratefully allow his merits as a ruler in the vastness of the benefits which resulted even from a selfish life. His character is thus one of conflicting superlatives which are bad when his private life is considered, but good when we regard his public career and work.

i. *His character.*
(Stubbs i. 484.
Mrs. Green *Hy.* ii.
15-20.
Green 104.)

The man who was called upon to take up the task which faced Henry needed all the ability which Henry possessed.

England, as Stephen had left it, might have seemed sufficient. But England was only a part, and a small part, of what Henry possessed.

The Angevin Empire
(Mrs. Green *Hy. ii.*,
ch. ii.)

He ruled over

1152.

1. Normandy, Anjou, and Lorraine, which he inherited from his parents.
2. Aquitaine, which he obtained by marriage with Eleanor Duchess of Aquitaine (died 1204) the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France.
3. England, which he received in virtue of the Treaty of Wallingford, and by his descent from William the Conqueror.
4. Besides these he asserted his overlordship over Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.
5. In 1182 he added Brittany to his dominions by the marriage of his second son Geoffrey to Constance of Brittany.

His reign was a troubled one and grew increasingly more so. The quarrel with Becket (1162—1170) divided it into three periods. Before the quarrel Henry's difficulties were comparatively slight, and were concerned with the desire of the Baronage in England to retain their power, and with the attempts of the Kings of France to assert their feudal supremacy. In the third period Henry, soured in temper by the quarrel with the friend from whose appointment he had hoped so much, and weakened in reputation by his murder, found difficulties to crowd one on another. Opposition met him from many antagonists, always vigorous and often united: English and French barons, the Kings of Scotland and France, his own wife and sons.

His policy.

Just as his possessions were Imperial in extent so his policy was Imperial in character. Though feudalism was the only bond which seemed to keep all these immense possessions together, for of course they had nothing in common but allegiance to the same King, yet his perception of the supreme need of centralisation led him to destroy it, at any rate in England with which we are mainly concerned.

II. Period of
Settlement.
1154-1163.
(Mrs. Green *Hy. ii.*,
ch. 4.)

(Norgate i, 923.)

The immediate need in England was order and rule. Calling to his side able ministers like Becket whom he made Chancellor, Nigel Bishop of Ely (nephew of Roger of Salisbury), Robert Earl of Leicester, Richard de Lacy, and others, he set his hand to the task.

1. The Adulterine Castles were destroyed.
2. The Fiscal Earldoms were abolished.
3. The Crown lands which Stephen and Matilda alike had given away were reclaimed.

4. The obnoxious mercenaries were dismissed.
5. The administration was improved by the appointment of new Sheriffs of known capacity.
6. Order was at once enforced by the immediate despatch of Justices Itinerant through many counties. (Norgate i, 933; ii, 173.)
7. When dissatisfied Barons like Roger of Hereford and Hugh Mortimer tried to resist they were promptly crushed. 1155.

Work such as this was not difficult for a strong man, but Henry was much more than a strong man. He was a great organiser. He did a great work in reforming the government of the country. In all parts of the administration he made his genius felt, and if on the one hand the result was to strengthen the Monarchy and to check Feudalism, on the other it was much that Henry should associate with and in his work the co-operation of the English people. The Great Council (*Commune Concilium*) was reorganised and strengthened. Of course he continued to use it as a Council only and not as a modern Parliament, but its importance was increased, and its numbers enlarged. It was frequently summoned, and was attended by smaller vassals as well as by tenants in chief, and its connection with the nation at large made closer.

(G & M 55.)
III. Constitutional Reforms.

a. Great Council.
(Sel. Charters 130.)

b. Administration.
1. Curia Regis.

The *Curia Regis* ceased to take as much part in the general work as it had done in the days of Henry I., when the Great Council was of comparatively little importance. It thus was enabled to develop its more strictly administrative functions. It was brought more directly under the King's influence by

- a. reduction in numbers ;
- b. the institution of Appeals from its decisions to the King himself.

Its real power and effectiveness was increased by

- a. the developments of its administrative functions spoken of above ;
- b. the constant use which the King made of it ;
- c. the definite arrangement of England into Judicial Circuits, on which Justices Itinerant, sent by the *Curia Regis*, regularly went ;
- d. the improvements in Judicial procedure.

2. Justices Itinerant.
(Stubbs i, 649.)

3. Jury system.
(Sel. Chart, 24.)

The most important of these last was the development of the Jury system.

We have seen how the practice of using the sworn testimony of local representatives as to local customs and rights had already been adopted (p. 7). This custom Henry II. very much extended.

- i. In Trials an "Inquest by sworn Recognitors" took the place of the old English "Trial by Ordeal" and the Norman "Wager of Battle." (Norgate ii, 122, 353.)

1166.
(*Sel. Chart.*, 140.
Norgate ii, 122,
123. 338.)

In the Assize of Clarendon it was ordered that twelve men from each Hundred should form a "Jury of Presentment" which should present suspected criminals to the Justices Itinerant. [This is the origin of the modern Grand Jury which does practically this same work, leaving to the Petty Jury the duty of judging]. It also strengthened the Sheriffs against the Baronage in the maintenance of peace.

(Norgate ii, 122, 172.)

Early in his reign he issued the Grand Assize (*i.e.* Great Law) by which disputed claims to land were to be decided by twelve sworn freeholders; and by other Assizes (Mort d'Ancester, Darrein Presentment, and Novel Disseisin) practically all disputes connected with land were to be decided in this way.

2. In the matter of taxation the proportions due from different people were ascertained in the same way. The Saladin Tithe for the 3rd Crusade was the first tax on personal property, and the amount payable by each man was ascertained by "sworn inquests" of local "Juries."

1188.
(*Sel. Chart.*, 160.)

3. The same principle was adopted in military affairs. Henry reorganised the National Fyrd, and under the "Assize of Arms" a local "Jury" decided what arms each freeman should maintain for the national service.

1181.
(*Sel. Chart.*, 154.)

c, Baronage
weakened.

1. Fyrd strengthened
2. Scutage introduced.

(Oman 358-64.)

While he thus strengthened the National Fyrd he weakened the Feudal force by his introduction of Scutage. This "Shield money" was to be paid instead of actual service. It seemed to be for the convenience of the landholder: but it helped to make the King independent of the Barons by enabling him to pay soldiers chosen and commanded by himself. It was first imposed in the Welsh wars of 1156 when it was required from ecclesiastics who obviously could not render actual military service. It was extended to lands in lay hands in the war with Toulouse (1159). It was subsequently demanded frequently at varying rates until it was regulated by *Magna Carta*.

3. Sheriffs.

(*Sel. Chart.*, 147.)

Another reform was instituted by the Inquest of Sheriffs in 1170. There had been a tendency for the office of Sheriff to become hereditary. Henry removed many of the existing magnates and replaced them by officials appointed by himself.

4. Assize of Forests.

(*Sel. Chart.*, 157.)

A third measure directed towards strengthening the central authority remains to be noticed. The Assize of Forests in 1184 extended the Forest Laws (p. 5) to every person, lay and clerical, high and low, in Forest districts.

d, Inherent dangers.

Thus Henry's whole policy of Reform was directed to the increase of the Royal Authority. (1) The Barons were weakened. (2) The Sheriffs and other administrative officials were made more dependent on the King. (3) The People were drawn to the support of the Monarchy.

This was excellent in the case of a King like Henry. But the old difficulty recurred : what if the King were a bad man, using his great powers for bad ends, or even a weak man, unable to properly use his powers at all ? The instances of William II. and Stephen were fresh in men's memories. There was as yet no national assembly which could act as a check on royal absolutism : there was not even a national feeling which could be counted on to inspire resistance. The danger which underlay Henry's increase of the royal authority—beneficial as it was in general—was a real one.

At that time the only power which could exercise an effective restraint was the Church, and in the course of the struggle which arose with Becket Henry himself showed how important it was that some power for restraint should be preserved independent. The King who fined Becket enormous sums on frivolous pretexts, who punished Becket's innocent kinsmen when he could not reach Becket himself, who rolled on the floor in baffled fury when news of failure reached him, whose thoughtless words sent murderers to do what he hardly dared to hope for, could hardly claim the absolute obedience which is properly due to the fountain of justice and redresser of wrongs.

Thus Becket, in claiming clerical privileges, was really asserting national liberty. The particular subject in dispute may have been questionable but the principle which underlay Becket's case was sound, and the national conscience was right when it recognised in him not the upholder of clerical privileges but the opponent of personal rule. Though opposed by most of the Bishops, appointed by the King and often royal officials, the people were on his side, and on his death public opinion unanimously canonised him as a Saint and a Martyr ; and subsequent experience of John's tyranny and Henry III.'s weakness justified his action and ratified the popular verdict.

Thomas Becket had been one of the ablest of the officials who had helped Henry in his work of restoration and reform. Archbishop Theobald had also recognised his business abilities and had made him Archdeacon of Canterbury. His valuable talents and his agreeable manners made him and Henry close personal friends. He soon became Chancellor (p. 24). In 1158 he was employed to arrange a marriage, between the King's infant son Henry and the child of Louis VII., which brought alliance instead of rivalry with France.

On the death of Theobald in 1162 Henry secured the election of Becket to the See of Canterbury, that he might help in adding the subjection of the Clergy to the subjection of the Baronage. No class or body would then remain outside the law of the land. But Becket's insight into the actual working of the administration had shown him its defects ; his statesmanlike qualities showed him the danger there was

- iv. *Struggle with the Clergy.*
(Mrs. Green Hy. ii, ch. 5, 7.)
a. *Real meaning of the struggle.*
(G. & M. 60 ; Wakeman 109, 177.)

- b. *Becket's rise.*
(Green 103.)

- (Norgate i, 418, 504.)

- c. *Becket Archbishop*
(Norgate ii, 7.)

in placing all power in a single unrestrained authority; and by his friendship with Henry he knew better than most that even Kings were not free from the basest passions. Hence his prompt attitude of opposition.

d. Course of the struggle.

1. Illegal taxation. 1163.

(Stubbs i, 499.)

2. 'Benefit of Clergy' 1163.

At the Council of Woodstock he refused to pay the Danegeld direct to the King instead of, as was the law, to the Sheriff.

At the Council of Westminster Henry wished to have it settled that Clergy found guilty in ecclesiastical Courts should be handed over to the Civil Courts for punishment. Becket only agreed conditionally, knowing that the King intended this as a step towards bringing the Clergy entirely under the ordinary laws.

3. Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.

(Mrs. Green Hy. ii. ch. 5.)

(Norgate ii, 25-8.)

Sel. Chari, 137.)

In the Constitutions of Clarendon Henry proposed to state and define the legal position of the Clergy.

1. Clergy convicted in Ecclesiastical Courts were to be punished by the Civil authorities.

2. Appeals were to go to the King, and only to Rome with the King's permission.

3. Ecclesiastical lands were to be subject to feudal conditions of tenure.

4. During vacancies the management of ecclesiastical lands and offices was to be in the hands of the King.

5. The son of a villain was not to be ordained without the permission of the lord.

Individually most of these were unobjectionable in theory. But taken together they practically placed the Clergy under the King's control and this might easily be exercised in such a way as to injure religion and be altogether harmful.

The problem therefore was a difficult one, and Becket, torn between appreciation of Henry's good intentions and tears of possible, or probable, evil results in the hands of tyrannical kings, wavered. At length he refused to agree.

Henry was not a man who could suffer opposition and his fury burst out at once. It showed itself in the most violent and illegal measures.

4. Henry's retaliation

1164.

(Norgate ii, 33-40.)

At the Council of Northampton he summoned Becket to account for the money spent by him during his Chancellorship. Such a demand was utterly illegal and unreasonable, and showed that Becket's ruin was resolved upon. Becket fled to France. His property was seized and his relations expelled the country. He was welcomed by Louis vii. of France, and of course was supported by Pope Alexander iii.

(Wakeman 177.)

A fresh cause of quarrel arose in 1170. The King had his eldest son crowned as his successor, by Roger, Archbishop of York, Becket's great opponent. This was a violation of the constitutional right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to crown the King, and Becket excommunicated Roger and the other Bishops concerned. This defiance of the law that the royal

assent was necessary before such a sentence could be passed (p. 7) added to the difficulties and increased the bitterness.

A reconciliation was however patched up, but only by leaving everything unsettled; and the Archbishop returned to his See. His conduct soon brought matters to a crisis. He renewed the excommunication of the Bishops and now added the names of laymen who had wasted his lands during his absence. Eager enemies, only too glad to make mischief, reported to Henry in Normandy what had occurred. "Are there none of those who eat my bread?" Henry blurted out in passion, "who will rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four knights at once left for Canterbury, and before the King knew the sinister interpretation which had been given to his thoughtless words the Archbishop had been murdered in his own Cathedral.

5. Becket's murder.
(Green 108.)

(Norgate II, 79.)
1170

A thrill of horror at once passed over England and Christendom. Becket's pride, obstinacy, want of tact and charity, were swept out of men's minds by the tragic circumstances of his death. His desire for martyrdom may have been theatrical but at least he had died rather than surrender what he believed to be the rights of the Church. The details of the quarrel may have been questionable, but the principle was sound. Becket had fallen in the cause of liberty against the inordinate authority of a despot who was bent on subduing every institution to his will.

e. Effects of the struggle.
(Wakeman 116.)

(Norgate II, 431-3.)

Henry had to bow beneath the storm of popular indignation. In 1174 he did abject penance at his victim's tomb. Becket's shrine became the most famous in western Europe.

1. Immediate.

Henry had to withdraw his demands, and to leave Clerical privileges not only unreformed but untouched. That was the evil result of Becket's victory. Until the Reformation no one dared to carry out much-needed improvements in Ecclesiastical Courts, and Appeals to Rome, instead of to the King, greatly increased. Innumerable scandals soon showed themselves. Instead of a safeguard against oppression the 'Benefit of Clergy' became an abuse, and was used to screen the guilty, not to protect the weak.

2. ultimate.

The wide extent of Henry II.'s dominions made him a great European potentate. Indeed with the possible exception of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190) Henry was the greatest sovereign in Western Christendom.

v. Imperial affairs

He found great difficulty in maintaining his continental power and prestige with success. His various dominions differed so much from another (p. 24), that it was impossible to give them unity. They were too scattered for him to be able to look after them properly, therefore his continental vassals were perpetually in revolt. The King of France was always ready to help them. The frontiers were too extensive

a. Henry's difficulties

and too ill-defined for their defence to be easy. Besides, his domestic troubles were a constant source of weakness. An unfaithful husband himself, he had equally unfilial sons. His own family produced his most persistent opponents. He quarrelled with his wife early in his reign, and his sons were continually thwarting him. They appear to have failed entirely to understand his policy, and none of them returned the strong affection he bore them. With their father and with one another they constantly quarrelled, and it was mainly through this domestic unhappiness that he grew old before his time and died as he said "a conquered King"

(Green 112.)

b, Baronial
opposition.

Great Revolt of 1173
(Mrs. Green Hy. ii,
ch. 9.)

With the Barons of England he naturally had difficulties. His success in checking their efforts at independence has already been mentioned. It was not won without a struggle. The dissatisfaction to which Roger of Hereford and Hugh Mortimer had given expression at his first measures (p. 25), though checked for the time, smouldered for many years. At last it broke out. One measure of repression after another had successfully lessened their power (p. 26) and the disloyalty of Henry's sons had grown to a head. Young Henry's ambition had been whetted but not satisfied by his coronation in 1170 (p. 28). Geoffrey desired to be Duke of Brittany. Richard hankered after Aquitaine. Even young John, his father's darling, was faithless. The murder of Becket had weakened Henry in position and prestige, and had offended the Clergy. It seemed too to have offended even the people, on whom he had hitherto successfully relied.

A great combination in 1173 was the result. It extended throughout his dominions. The Barons of England and France, headed by Roger Bigod and Roger Mowbray, joined with Henry's sons. The Scottish King, William the Lion, and the French King, Louis VII., willingly lent them aid. It was better organised and on a much larger scale than any previous Baronial revolt. But it failed signally and speedily. Henry's long and careful development of the administration enabled him to collect his forces effectively and promptly. His reorganisation of the Fyrd gave him a strong national army. Scutage enabled him to hire mercenaries. His submission to the Pope at Avranches (1172) and his abject penance at Becket's tomb won over the Clergy. The lesser landholders remained faithful, and the nation perceived the real significance of the crisis: it was a grand final effort of the Baronage to secure feudal independence, and in such a question the people must assuredly side with the King as the representative of law and the sole maintainer of order.

The great confederacy was quickly crushed. In France it was ended by the victory at Dol, in England by the still greater victory at Fornham and the capture of William the Lion at

(Oman 396-7.)

Alnwick by chance. The *Treaty of Falaise* marked its close.

Treaty of Falaise,
1174.

There was no further combination of the Barons against the King for forty years and then (in 1215) they were found championing the cause not of their own class alone but of the nation at large.

Henry's brilliant success strengthened his hands and further measures were taken to weaken the Baronage.

c. Later measures to
weaken Baronage.

1. 1176—The Assize of Northampton extended the Assize of Clarendon (p. 26) and strengthened still more the Sheriffs against the Barons.
2. 1178—a permanent Court of Appeal was organised (p. 25).
3. 1181—the Assize of Arms was issued (p. 26).
4. 1184—the Assize of Forests was issued (p. 26).

(*Sel. Chart.*, 150.)

Henry had no more trouble with the Baronage.

His desire to strengthen the weak bonds which united his empire led him to attempt to assert a definite overlordship over the outlying portions of the British Isles. In 1166 he allowed Richard de Clare ("Strongbow") to take to Ireland a band of Anglo-Norman adventurers. Under pretence of helping the King of Leinster they made good a footing in the Island. But success led Strongbow and others to attempt to set up independent kingdoms and in 1171 Henry had to go to Ireland in person to assert his supremacy. He compelled Strongbow and the rest to do Homage to him as "Lord of Ireland." But his work of organisation was interrupted by the Baronial rising of 1173 (p. 30) and anarchy soon returned. The English however continued to hold the district round Dublin, which was called the "Pale," though with ever varying success; and the authority of the English Kings was of the slightest till the times of the Tudors.

d. Overlordship of
Ireland: Strongbow
(*Mrs. Green Hy.* ii,
ch. 8. Oman 398.)

Over Wales too Henry's overlordship was asserted. In 1157 Owen, Prince of North Wales was compelled to do homage, and Griffith of South Wales was obliged to give hostages for his good behaviour.

e. Overlordship of
Wales.

Over Scotland also the overlordship was asserted. So early as 1157 Malcolm IV. was forced to do homage at Chester, and Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland were annexed to England. When, in the great Baronial Rising of 1173, King William the Lion came to the help of the Barons and was captured at Alnwick, he was obliged (in the Treaty of Falaise (see above) definitely to become Henry's vassal.

f. Overlordship of
Scotland.

T. of Falaise.

Richard I. soon sold these rights of overlordship to provide funds for the Third Crusade.

Henry II.'s relations with continental politics were naturally close. He made marriage alliances with the Duke of Saxony (his daughter Matilda's son became Emperor as Otto IV.), with the King of Castile, and the King of Sicily.

g. Marriage alliances

h, relations with
France.

1174.

(Mrs. Green Hy. ii,
220-224.)

VI. His death and
work.

He attempted to avert the hostility of the Kings of France by the same plan. When Louis VII. helped rebellious Toulouse in 1159 Henry secured his withdrawal by marrying his infant son Henry to Louis VII.'s young daughter Margaret and a Truce was made in 1161. The shelter and support which Louis gave to Becket helped to force Henry to come to terms with the Archbishop in 1170. But when the Baronial Rising in 1173 gave Louis another opportunity of weakening Henry he readily seized it. This time Henry was too strong and quickly compelled Louis to make the Treaty of Falaise already mentioned. On the death of Louis in 1180 Philip Augustus tried to take advantage of Prince Henry's unfilial discontent, but Henry died in 1183. In 1187 Philip followed the same policy with Richard. Their action prevented Henry from acceding to the universal wish of Christendom that he should head the Third Crusade which had just been proclaimed (1188). They invaded Toulouse and Henry was forced to beg for mercy. At the *Conference of Tours* they showed him the list of those who had leagued against him. It included his youngest and favourite son John. This crowning act of ingratitude seemed to break his heart and he died at Chinon, disappointed and disgraced, in 1189.

His reign was a tragedy in which the hero fell though he accomplished a great work for England.

1. He finally destroyed Feudalism as a system of government.
2. He defined the relations between Church and State in the Constitutions of Clarendon, and pointed the way for later reforms.
3. He preserved local government and strengthened it.
4. He established a good and systematic judicial system, complete in outline from the local courts, through the Court of Appeal, to the Final Appeal to the King in person.
5. He gave England a Foreign Policy which was maintained throughout the Middle Ages. The tradition of friendship with Germany and Spain, and hostility to France, lasted till the days of Wolsey.
6. He left a united England. His measures for strengthening local government and his reliance on his people's support, aided the work of time in uniting the English and the Normans. They had lived long enough together for each to know the other, and mutual relations in daily life, in trade, in the management of local concerns, and in intermarriages, had practically fused the bulk of the people of England into an English people.

RICHARD I. 1189—1199.

- i. *His character*
- ii. *The Third Crusade*
 - a. its cause
 - b. Richard's financial expedients
 - c. Richard's share in the Crusade
 - d. Its failure
 - e. Richard's return and captivity
 - f. John's treachery
- iii. *War with France*
 - a. League with Emperor and Flanders
 - b. Chateau Gaillard
 - c. Rising in Poitou
 - d. Richard's death
- iv. *His reign*
 - a. Its constitutional significance
 - b. The Justiciars
 1. Longchamp 1190—91
 2. Coutances 1191—94
 3. Hubert Walter 1194—98
 - (a) his work
 - (b) his fall
 - (c) Longbeard
 4. Fitz Peter 1198—1213

Richard I. was Henry II.'s second son. His eldest brother Henry had died in 1183 (p. 32). Like his father he was a great continental sovereign, but unlike his father he neglected England almost entirely. In his reign, as in his father's, much progress was seen in the development of the administration, both central and local, but whereas under Henry II. it had proceeded from the direct guidance of the King, under Richard I. it proceeded in spite of him and actually in consequence of his neglect of English affairs.

The new king was no Englishman. He was a brilliant soldier, but his great exploits, his military skill, and his adventurous spirit were poor substitutes for the important requisite for a good King: sympathy with, or at least consideration for, the people he was called upon to rule. Richard had neither. His ambition was merely that of a warrior; and even as a warrior the glory he sought was victory rather than conquest.

He looked upon England as merely a treasure-chest to provide money for his military expeditions. His sole object was to win renown in the Third Crusade which had just begun. The Turks, led by Saladin, had crowned a series of successes by capturing Jerusalem from the Christians in 1187, and Pope Gregory VIII. appealed to the kings of Christendom to drive them out of the Holy Land. Henry II. had been prevented, but his son at once determined to go.

i. *His character.*

ii. *The Third Crusade.*
a. Cause.

b, Richard's Financial expedients.
(Norgate, 470.)

He used all possible methods of raising money.

1. Wards were hurried into marriage or the feudal fees (p. 10) were taken in advance.
2. Charters of privileges were sold to towns (*e.g.* London, Winchester, Lincoln, etc.)
3. Offices, such as Sherifffdoms, and titles, were sold.
4. The Jews were fleeced.
5. The feudal supremacy over Scotland, so lately asserted, (p. 31) was bartered away.

c, Richard's share.

(Oman 303-9.)

In alliance with Philip Augustus of France (p. 32) Richard set out by sea. The two kings met and wintered in Sicily but quarrels broke out between them, and Philip was offended by Richard's marriage with Berengaria of Navarre. In the spring of 1191 they set out for Palestine and Richard captured Cyprus on the way. They besieged Acre and Philip withdrew. Richard, after sullyng his cause by massacring 5000 Turkish hostages, advanced southwards. At Arsouf he defeated Saladin, but quarrelled with Leopold the Archduke of Austria, the leader of the Imperial troops who had come by land through Asia Minor. Jealousies and rivalries among the various commanders, added to mismanagement and selfishness, ruined their chances of success, and though Richard pushed on almost to within sight of the Holy City he never actually saw it. The utmost he could accomplish was an agreement with the brave and chivalrous Saladin, by which Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem were to be permitted.

d, Its failure.

e, Richard's return and captivity.

Richard left Acre in the autumn of 1192 but was wrecked on the coast of Italy. Fearing to fall into the hands of those he had offended in Palestine he attempted to make his way home in disguise. He was betrayed to Leopold and given up to the Emperor Henry VI. who held him to ransom.

f, John's treachery.

His brother John took the opportunity to attempt to seize England. He won Philip's assistance by doing homage to him for Normandy. But the Justiciar in England, William of Coutances, and Eleanor, Richard's mother, collected, by enormous exactions, the huge ransom which Henry VI. demanded, and in March 1194 the King returned. John had seized and fortified several royal castles, in Nottinghamshire and elsewhere, but was no match for Richard. He fled incontinently.

Richard, having been less than three months in England, followed John to Normandy whence he never returned.

III. War with France.

He overcame John as easily in France as in England. But Richard realised that the constant efforts of the Kings of France to extend their feudal supremacy over the Kings of England, who, in their capacity as Dukes of Normandy were in the position of vassals, could only be kept in check by force. Other princes had suffered encroachments also, and a league

was made between Richard, his nephew the Emperor Otto IV. (p. 31) and the Duke of Flanders. To defend the frontier of Normandy against Philip, and to secure the loyalty of the Normans, who had always hated the Angevins (p. 19) and therefore felt little affection for Richard, he built Chateau Gaillard. Rising high above the valley of the Seine it was indeed a "saucy castle," a daring defiance both to his feudal superior and to his discontented subjects.

a, League with Emp and Flanders.

b, Chateau Gaillard.

Richard's military skill had been increased by his crusading experiences and Chateau Gaillard was perhaps the finest piece of fortification which the age produced.

(Oman 533;
Green 114; plan
Oman plate xxi.)

It was placed in a splendid strategical position and completely blocked the main avenue of invasion from France. It stood at the end of a long spur of steep ground, connected with the hills only by a narrow neck. In this, though it was of solid rock, a deep ditch was hewn to bar assault from the only exposed side. Elsewhere the slopes are so steep that assault was practically out of the question. In the planning of the castle consummate skill was shown. The lines of fortification were drawn in accordance with the latest ideas, and each of the concentric wards commanded the one outside it. The Donjon-keep, the place where the final stand was to be made if all the rest were taken, was not only of immense strength of wall but was furnished with clever devices to defeat the attempts of besiegers. A stone gallery ran round its summit, with holes in the floor through which missiles could be shot, stones dropped, or liquid combustibles poured, on the assailants beneath. Below it the walls splayed out, to increase their strength and to throw the missiles further outwards.

When Chateau Gaillard was captured by Philip Augustus in 1204 it was only because John's folly had allowed it to be neglected and failed to relieve it when it was besieged. Even so it held out, unsupported and famine-stricken, for six months. When the final assault came through the breach which the miners had made, only 20 knights and a hundred and twenty of the garrison were left.

The castle was hardly finished when a revolt in Poitou called Richard thither. In the midst of threats to massacre the whole inmates of the castle of Chalus unless they surrendered, an arrow from the walls struck him with a mortal wound. The strange contradictions in his nature continued to the end. For seven years he had refused to forgive Philip, who had, as he imagined, wronged him, yet he freely forgave the poor archer who had killed him.

c, rising in Poitou.

d, Richard's death.

We have said but little of England during Richard's reign. The importance of the reign arises from the fact that the absence of the King, who had hitherto been the moving spirit of the government, increased the importance of the officials.

iv. His Reign.

a, Its constitutional importance. Henry II.'s work was allowed to consolidate and strengthen itself without interference, and Englishmen began to learn how to conduct their own affairs. This was the case in all departments. Just as the highest officials, even the Justiciar, had to govern by themselves, unaided by the King, so the power of the local officials in the towns increased as the Charters of privileges which they bought from the needy King gave them new powers of self-government.

b, The Justiciars. With an absent King the office of Justiciar obtained increased importance.

1. Longchamp 1190-91.
(Stephens 199-201.) 1. William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, first held the office. He was also Papal Legate. He showed himself to be arrogant and oppressive both in civil and in ecclesiastical affairs. He soon aroused general indignation and was obliged to flee the country. It was a foretaste of the combination of all classes which, later, won *Magna Carta*. It was also an early foreshadowing of the doctrine of the responsibility of ministers, for the barons definitely asserted their right to control even the Justiciar.

2. Coutances 1191-94. 2. William of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, took his place. He was energetic and able, and enjoyed the support of Queen Eleanor, but the heavy ransom for Richard which he was obliged to raise prevented him from being popular, and Richard needed his help in France.

3. Hubert Walter 1194-98. 3. Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, succeeded him. He had been trained under Henry II., and his object was to continue Henry's policy and to develop and strengthen the administration he had organised.

a, his work, i. His *Grand Iter* in 1194 did much to improve local government :

(a) Coroners were to be elected in the County Courts for the judicial work ;

(b) Justices Itinerant were bound to take the evidence of elected "recognitors."

b, his fall. ii. He found much difficulty in raising the money which Richard required for his campaigns in France.

(a) Tallages and Scutages had to be frequently demanded ;

(b) The old Danegeld was revived under the name of Carucage, which was a tax of five shillings on every hundred acres ;

(c) The clergy were frequently called upon to pay large sums ;

(d) The towns were frequently taxed.

These heavy exactions, coming after the severe drainage to which the country had recently been subjected to provide Richard's ransom, roused universal discontent, and a dangerous insurrection was headed in London by William Fitz-

Osbert who was popularly called "Longbeard." This shook Hubert's authority severely, and when in 1198 he had to bring forward Richard's demand that Englishmen should serve abroad, the Bishop of Lincoln, "S. Hugh" as he was afterwards called, headed a steadfast refusal. The Justiciar resigned. Fitz-Peter carried on the government for the rest of the reign, following in the lines laid down by his predecessor.

c, Longbeard
1195.

(Norgate 350.)

4. Fitz Peter.
1198-1213.

JOHN 1199—1216.

- i. *His character*—elective nature of his title
- ii. *War with France*
 - a. Arthur helped by France
 - b. alienation of English Baronage
 - c. and of Poitou
 - d. French invasion of Normandy
 - e. murder of Arthur 1202
 - f. loss of Chateau Gaillard
 - g. loss of Normandy
 - h. effects of the loss of Normandy
- iii. *John alienates Clergy and Pope*
 - a. appointment of Langton as Archbishop 1206
 - b. the Interdict 1208
 - c. the Excommunication 1209
 - d. the Deposition 1211
 - e. John's humiliation 1213
- iv. *John alienates all classes*
 - a. causes
 - b. expedition to Poitou
 - c. naval victory at Damme 1213
 - d. defeat at Bouvines 1214
- v. *United opposition*
 - a. Langton's action
 - b. John's attempts to divide the opposition
 - c. the meeting at Runnymede 1215
- vi. *Magna Carta* 1215
- vii. *John's last struggle and death*
 - a. The Pope's action
 - b. The Barons invite Louis to take the Crown
 - c. John's supporters
 - d. his last struggle
 - e. his death 1216

I. His character.

(G. & M. 62.)

(Green 122.)

John was the fourth and youngest son of Henry II. He had already showed how entirely he was devoid of principle, by his faithlessness to his father (p. 32) and to his brother (p. 34). He soon showed that he respected no laws, human or divine. He was immoral in private and in public life. With the character of an oriental despot he lacked ability, and cunning was a poor substitute for cleverness. He alienated everyone. The Barons despised a king who failed whenever he fought; they were disgusted at his meanness and trickery. The people saw that he could neither rule nor defend them. He trusted no one and no one trusted him.

Elective nature of
his title.

He obtained the crown chiefly because Arthur, his brother Geoffrey's son, was too young for the position. The King must be a man who could rule. (cf. p. 19). Eleanor his mother,

anxious to maintain the Angevin Empire undivided, threw all her influence into John's scale, and he sent Hubert Walter and William the Marshall to England to support his cause. They collected the leading barons together at Nottingham, and these declared in favour of John. He was crowned on Ascension Day 1199, Hubert Walter, the lawyer bishop, definitely asserting that the English crown was elective (cf. p. 20). John is the one English sovereign (except James II. who was a Roman Catholic), who has refused to receive the Holy Communion at his coronation.

(Taswell Langmead
201-3.)

The cause of Arthur was naturally supported by Philip Augustus in pursuance of his general policy (p. 32). His support was not particularly dangerous, for his object was of course a purely selfish one. On payment of 30,000 crowns he readily made peace and acknowledged John's title.

II. War with France
a, Arthur helped by France.

But John quickly alienated the powerful Gloucester family and with it a large section of the Baronage, by the divorce of his wife Hadwisa of Gloucester, in favour of Isabella of Angoulême. He also alienated the nobles of Poitou, to one of whom, Hugh of Lusignan, Isabella had been betrothed. They took up the cause of Arthur, of course in conjunction with Philip, and invaded Normandy. Arthur's forces besieged Queen Eleanor in the Castle of Mirabeau but John with unusual vigour drove them off and captured Arthur. The boy was murdered at Rouen, as all men believed, by John himself.

b, alienation of Baronage of England.

c, and of Poitou.

d, French invasion of Normandy.

e, murder of Arthur 1202.

The mere suspicion of such a brutal deed was sufficient to weaken the support even of John's supporters. The people of Normandy had disliked John as an Angevin (p. 19), they hated him as a murderer. Philip marched to take the province. John was quite incapable of organising resistance, while Philip's wise liberality overcame the natural dislike which Normans had hitherto felt for Frenchmen.

(Green 115.)

Chateau Gaillard (p. 35) blocked the way. Its fall, through John's incapacity and Philip's military skill, had an immense moral effect. The Angevin government collapsed, and Philip's course was a triumphal progress. Southwards in Maine, Anjou, and Touraine he met with similar success. John obtained the nickname of "Lackland," for only the country south of the Garonne remained to him of Henry II.'s vast continental possessions.

f, loss of Chateau Gaillard (Green 116.) (Norgate 416.)
g, loss of Normandy 1204.

The results of the loss of Normandy and the rest of the French territories were important.

e, Effects of loss of Normandy. (Stubbs i, 557.)

1. Many of the great Barons had formerly held lands on both sides of the Channel. Their sympathies were thus constantly divided. By the loss of their lands in France their interests became wholly English.
2. The Kings of England had been in a similar position, and the effects on them were similar also. Their main interests were henceforth solely with England.

3. The result was a great strengthening of the national feeling in England (p. 9).
4. England was disentangled for the time from continental politics and could devote her attention to home affairs.
5. The French King was strengthened by the removal of a standing danger along much of his border.
6. Though the causes of mutual hostility between England and France were removed for the time, the tradition (p. 24) remained. It was indeed strengthened in the English by the sense of loss, and by the appearance of the French on the English Channel, both sides of which had formerly been in English hands.

III. John alienates
the Clergy and
the Pope.

a, appointment of
Langton as Abp.
1206.

b, the Interdict
1208.

c, the Excommuni-
cation
1209.
(Green 124.)

d, the Deposition
1211.

e, John's humiliation
1213.

John soon became involved in a quarrel with the clergy and the Papacy. On the death in 1205 of Hubert, who had been made Archbishop of Canterbury, John ordered the election of one of his own creatures. The monks of Canterbury, with whom the election rested, chose Reginald their sub-Prior. Each party appealed to the Pope. Innocent III. set both nominees aside and chose an Englishman, Stephen Langton.

John's violence played into the hands of the Pope. He seized the estates of the Church and gave Innocent the excuse for laying his kingdom under an interdict, which deprived it of the services of the clergy. John then treated the clergy with personal violence and called upon himself an excommunication.

He cared little for such *moral* penalties, but when the Pope threatened him with deposition he became alarmed. Philip, to whom Innocent intrusted the carrying out of the sentence, might strip him of England as he had stripped him of Normandy. Public opinion was against him. The realisation of his danger brought him to his knees and he made an abject submission.

He humbled himself at the feet of Pandulf the Papal Legate, agreeing

(*Sel. Chart.*, 284.
G & M. 65.)

1. To receive Langton as Archbishop ;
2. To hold England as the vassal of the Pope ;
3. To pay the Papacy an annual tribute.

The immediate difficulty was removed for the moment. But John seemed determined to prove the truth of the saying

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat

and all his conduct speedily built up a united national resistance against him.

IV John alienates
all classes.
Causes.

1. His abject degradation before the Papal Legate had offended the national pride and ruined his personal dignity.
2. Mistrust led him to seize the castles of the Barons and to take their sons as hostages for their loyalty.
3. He demanded heavy scutages and their personal service in foreign warfare (against Philip) which was invariably disastrous.

He tried to rally the people to his side by a project to recover Poitou. But they could not trust him, and refused to help. His half-brother William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, won a naval victory at Damme. John persuaded Otto to invade France in the north east, but this alliance only helped to strengthen Philip by arousing French patriotism and sense of unity. The two armies met at Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay, and the battle was of the greatest political importance both to England and France. If Philip had lost it the consolidation of the French monarchy might have been delayed for centuries. By the victory it was immensely hastened. All the provinces into which France was divided seemed to perceive the importance of the crisis, and rallied round Philip against the hereditary German foe and the English rival who aimed at winning back his lost Norman and Angevin dominions.

The invading army comprised a few English, some mercenaries from Flanders, and Otto's imperial contingents, infantry and cavalry.

Philip was helped by nearly all the provinces of France, and was especially strong in cavalry. He sent forward his right wing first, which ultimately bore down the Flemings opposed to them. Meanwhile the two remaining divisions on each side clashed together. The French infantry were beaten back but Philip himself, surrounded with the flower of French knight-hood, came to the rescue, and, by prodigies of valour in which Philip nearly lost his life, beat back the centre and drove off the Emperor and his own chosen knights. On the left John's English and the mercenaries were speedily put to flight and disappeared from the field. The invaders were routed all along the line.

The defeat ruined John's chances in Poitou. All hope of regaining credit by recovering the French territories was ruined. He could only retreat with all haste to England, discomfited and disgraced.

Meanwhile the clergy were offended by his exactions and all men were disgusted at his immoralities and cruelties.

The statesmanship of Stephen Langton raised the question to the dignity of a national one. His personal honesty and influence made him a leader under whom all might join. He called meetings of the Barons at S. Alban's and at S. Paul's, and laid before them the Charter of Henry I. (p. 16) as a basis of united action. During the King's absence in Poitou they met again at Bury-St.-Edmund's, and definitely drew up their grievances.

John tried to divide the opposition.

1. To the clergy he promised freedom in the election of Bishops.

2. To the Pope he promised to undertake a Crusade.

b. Expedition to Poitou.
Naval victory at Damme, 1213.
Defeat at Bouvines, 1214.
(Green 126.
Oman 461-477.)

(Oman 457.)

(Stephens 213-215.)

v. United opposition.
a. Langton's action.
(G. & M. 66;
Green 127.)

b. John's attempts to divide the opposition

3. To various towns he gave Charters of Privileges (Nottingham, Dunwich, Helleston, etc.)

(*Sel. Charters* 307-315)

It was in vain. The opposition refused to be broken up. Forces were collected at Stamford and launched upon him. He had to give way to the unanimous demands of the nation; and at Runnymede, near Windsor, Langton, surrounded by Barons, Clergy and the citizens of London, presented to him the nation's demands embodied in a document which has well deserved its name of the Great Charter. John was obliged to sign it on June 15th, 1215.

c, the meeting at Runnymede, 1215.

(*Sel. Chart.*, 296.)

VI. *Magna Carta*. 1215.

i. *Its importance*

(G. & M. 66; Taswell Langmead iv. Green 128-9.)

- (i.) It was the first great statement of English liberties.
- (ii.) It deserved the name of "The Foundation of English Liberties" because its maintenance always served as a rallying cry for subsequent resistance to royal tyranny and efforts after new liberties. As a standard of appeal in future struggles its importance was supreme.
- (iii.) It was a *National Act* because (a) it was a treaty between king and people; and (b) the bishops and barons who won it extended its privileges to all classes.
- (iv.) It was the summing up of one period of national life and the starting point of a new. (a) Hitherto king and people had allied against baronial independence, henceforth barons and people unite against royal tyranny. (b) Now for first time the English people appeared as a united whole.

ii. *It differed from earlier Charters in—*

- (a) Its wider scope :—It included redress for all classes.
- (b) Provision of means for enforcing its provisions : 25 Barons and the Mayor of London were appointed to carry out its articles.

iii. *Analysis.*

(Stubbs i, 571-578. Taswell Langmead 110-140.)

A. *The English Church.*

Its freedom was guaranteed—especially in regard to the election of Bishops : *Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit.*

B. *The Baronage* (feudal).

1. Reliefs were to be fixed and reasonable.

2. Abuses of wardship and marriage were to be remedied..

C. *The King.*

i. *Administration.*

1. Court of Common Pleas to be permanent at Westminster.
2. Assizes were to be held quarterly in the County Courts.

3. No royal officer, sheriff, or coroner, was to be, in modern language, a magistrate.
- ii. *Constitutional.*
 1. *Taxation.* No taxation, except the three great Aids, without consent of Common Council of the nation.
 2. *Commune Concilium.* Tenants-in-chief, lay and spiritual, to be summoned by *special writ*. Others by writ to sheriff of each shire.
 3. The royal right of *Purveyance* was limited by the consent of the owner, who was to be paid.
 4. A Committee of 25 Barons was to be a check on the King.

D. *People.*

(G. & M. 68.)

I. *Justice.*

- (a) "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or exiled, or any wise destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, but by lawful *judgment of his peers* or by the law of the land."
- (b) "To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay, right or justice."
2. *Trade.* Merchants were to be free from excessive customs, and there was to be uniformity in weights and measures.

iv. *Its limitations.*

(G. & M. 68.)

1. It left the King still supreme in the State.
2. It laid greater stress on ends to be gained at once than on means which should be permanent;
 - (a.) The Great Council would remain in practice pretty much as it had been before.
 - (b.) The provision by which the 25 Barons were to make war on the King if he broke his promises could not be a permanent part of the Constitution.

John at once set to work to break his promises. He obtained a release from the Pope by pleading that as he was the Pope's vassal the Papacy had been insulted. He brought over mercenaries to crush the people. These ravaged the estates of the Barons and over-ran the south of England. In despair the Barons offered the Crown to Louis, eldest son of Philip and husband of Blanche of Castile, Henry II.'s granddaughter (p. 31). It seemed only an extension of the principle of election by which John himself had obtained the crown (p. 38) and the situation appeared to demand desperate remedies. Louis came to London while John retired to Winchester.

vii. John's last struggle.
(Green 130.)

a, the Pope's action.

b, the Barons invite Louis to take the Crown.

Public opinion however could not be really satisfied with c, John's supporters

d, his last struggle.
(Green 131.)

the Baronial solution. Hubert de Burgh, and William the Marshall, keen patriots both, and able statesmen, were true to the house of Anjou, and the trading towns on the east coast remained loyal. Hubert, by his stalwart defence of Dover, did more than anyone else to ruin Louis' project. The Baronial opposition was divided between the conflicting claims of despair and patriotism, and John, with his plundering mercenaries, marched up and down the country ravaging and plundering, northwards as far as Berwick, southwards in a vain attempt on London, westwards to the Welsh Marches, eastwards to relieve Lincoln. In crossing the Wash his baggage was caught by the rising tide and his treasure lost. A gluttonous debauch in the Abbey of Swineshead brought on a fever, and John entered Newark Castle only to save the kingdom for the English Kings by his fortunate death.

e, his death.
1216.

THE 12th AND 13th CENTURIES.

1. *Survey of 12th Century* (from 1066)
 - a. Growth of national unity
 1. language
 2. constitutional
 3. Separation from France
 - b. growth of trade and towns
 - c. intellectual growth
2. *Characteristics of 13th Century*
 - a. its greatness
 - b. constitutional progress
 - c. religious revival
 - d. growth of trade
 - e. Architecture
 - f. intellectual vigour

Looking back upon the century and a half which has passed since the Norman Conquest we are able to see a great development.

The nation which then possessed no feeling of unity, and which seemed indeed by the Conquest to be still further divided into warring factions and conflicting interests, has now become one. Normans and English have blended. The common language has become English, almost intelligible to modern ears. Interests have coalesced, so that the united nation has been able to state its claims to civil liberty and self government as a coherent organised society.

All parties have begun to find their true and common interest. The Baronage has been reduced by the royal power to its proper subordination. The royal power itself has been curbed. The people have begun to take their share in government.

England has become the chief possession, and therefore the chief interest, of the English Kings, whose concerns with other nations come henceforth from the claims of Commerce (cf. Hundred Years War, later) or from a desire to unite the British Isles (cf. Edward I.'s relations with Wales, Scotland and Ireland).

Progress in settled government, and increased communication with the continent, have caused trade to expand. This in turn has helped the growth of towns; which have gained powers of self-government from royal policy (p. 42) and royal needs (p. 34). Merchant Gilds have arisen, at once the witnesses to, and the helpers of, trade, commerce, and order.

Learning has shown itself in the Monastic Annals, in the Histories of William of Malmesbury (1095—1142), William of Newborough (1136—1208), and Roger Hovedon (died 1201),

1. *Survey of 12th Century* from 1066. (Stubbs i, 482.)

a. growth of national unity.

1. language.

2. constitutional.

3. Separation from France.

b. growth of trade and towns.

(Taswell Langmead 236.)

c. intellectual growth (Green 118, 132.)

(Green 120.)

(Green 121.)

2. *Characteristics of 13th Century.*

(Stubbs ii, 2.
Lightfoot's *Essays*.
Wakeman 137-142.)
a, its greatness.

b, constitutional
progress.
(G. & M. 62.)

c, religious revival.
(Green 147.)
Jessop *Coming of the
Friars*; Adderley
Francis; Wakeman
140, 178-181.)

d, growth of trade.

e, Architecture.
(Wakeman 142.
Barnard 10, 336.)

f, Intellectual vigour
(Green iii, 4;
Wakeman 148.
Barnard 307.)

and in the Romances of Geraldus Cambrensis (1147—1222), Geoffrey of Monmouth (1110—1154) and Walter Map; and in the legal works of Ranulph Glanville (died 1190) and Fitz Nigel (died 1199). At the end of the period Layamon, a priest of Worcestershire, wrote an epic of the history of England in the English tongue.

This progress and development continued and increased in strength during the thirteenth century, which is indeed in many ways the Golden Age of English History.

It was an age of heroism, devotion, and self-sacrifice. It was prolific and luxuriant in goodness, though the results were often more permanent than the means by which they were won. There were great men, and their influence remained though at the time they often seemed to fail; there were great schemes and noble aspirations, which ebbed and flowed in strange vicissitudes of fortune; but at the end a real and definite progress is to be seen.

In politics the work of the twelfth century had been to draw close the bonds between the strengthened central administrative and the strengthened local organisations. The work of the thirteenth century was to make the whole organisation representative of the nation and not merely of the King or of the baronage.

There was a real religious revival. It was led by the Friars and by such men as Grosteste, Bishop of Lincoln but it was shared by all classes and influenced all movements (p. 51).

The towns increased in number and size as settled government made itself felt and trade grew. There was much building, especially of churches, as art improved (Lincoln, Beverley, Westminster Abbey, Salisbury). The style of architecture is known as the *Early English*, severe and simple, but beautiful and graceful.

The century saw a real intellectual revival, and the University of Oxford took its place among the centres of learning in Europe.

HENRY III. 1216—1272.

- i. *His accession* : a, title ; b, advantages of youth ; c, supporters
- ii. *Government of William Marshall* 1216—1219
 - 1. removes opposition
 - a. adopts Magna Carta
 - b. Fair of Lincoln
 - c. Battle of Sandwich
 - d. Treaty of Lambeth
 - 2. reissue of Charter with wise modifications
- iii. *Regency of Hubert de Burgh* 1219—1232
 - a. his aims and methods
 - b. his measures
 - 1. ejection of foreigners
 - 2. opposition to Papal claims—Abp. of Canterbury *Legatus natus*
 - 3. successful abroad
 - c. his decline
 - 1. Henry III.—his character
 - 2. advancement of foreigners
 - 3. restoration of Papal influence
 - 4. unpopularity of Hubert's discipline
 - d. his downfall
 - e. his work
- iv. *Regency of Peter des Roches* 1232—1234
 - Growth of abuses
- v. *Henry's personal government* 1234—1258
 - a. his marriage increases influence of foreigners
 - b. favours Papal abuses
 - c. loss of Poitou brings more foreigners
 - d. general mismanagement
 - e. foolish attempt on Sicily
 - f. excessive taxation
 - g. absence of opposition
- vi. *Opposition*
 - a. Baronage under de Clare
 - b. Reformers under de Montfort
 - c. Policy of Baronage—'Provisions of Oxford' 1258
 - d. breakdown of opposition
 - 1. divergence of aims
 - 2. Henry repudiates 'Provisions of Oxford'
 - 3. death of de Clare
 - 4. reference to S. Louis—Mise of Amiens
 - e. Action of Reformers under de Montfort
 - 1. repudiation of Mise of Amiens
 - 2. 'The Barons' war'—battle of Lewes—Mise of Lewes
 - 3. Assertion of authority of Parliament
 - 4. Constitutional Scheme—its value and importance.
 - 5. 'The Great Parliament' 1265
- vii. *Re-action*
 - a. causes
 - b. death of Simon at B. of Evesham 1265
 - c. restoration of royal authority
 - d. wise action of Prince Edward
- viii. *The Crusades*
 - a. General effects on Europe
 - b. Connection with English History

I. His Accession:

a. title.

b. advantages of youth.

b. supporters.

II. William Marshall.

(1) removes opposition.

a. adopts M. Carta.

b. Fair of Lincoln. (Oman 408).

c. B. off Sandwich.

d. T. of Lambeth

(2) re-issues Charter with modifications.

(Stubbs ii, 26.)

III. Regency of Hubert de Burgh:

a. his aims & methods

(Stubbs ii, 4.

Green 143.)

b. his measures.

1. Ejection of foreigners.

2. Opposition to Papal claims.

Abp. of Canterbury
'Legatus natus.'

3. Successful abroad

c. his decline.

1. Henry iii.—his character.

(Stubbs ii, 102.)

John's son and heir, Henry, was 9 years old. His youth was entirely in his favour. None of the hatred which his father had incurred could have been shared by his child. All parties alike could rally round him. The patriots might hope to train him to be a king after their own hearts, and even the selfish and self-seekers need have nothing to fear from him for many years. Best of all, the government would have to remain in the hands of men of proved capacity.

A meeting of Bishops and Barons appointed William the Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, to be regent, with the title of *Rector Regis et Regni*. With great skill he at once drew to his side the Barons who had invited Louis to take the Crown. He announced the acceptance of Magna Carta and thus rallied all parties to the side of the young king.

Those who still adhered to Louis were easily defeated at the *Fair of Lincoln*, and the French fleet was driven back off Sandwich by Hubert de Burgh. Louis realised the hopelessness of his position. He made the Treaty of Lambeth and withdrew to France.

Pembroke's position being thus secured he again re-issued the Charter, omitting the clauses relating to taxation so as not to tie the hands of the government.

In 1219 he died, but Hubert continued his policy, and was helped by Langton. His aims were national and patriotic: (1) to restore the influence of Englishmen in the government, and (2) to husband the country's resources by keeping her at peace. He governed by the help of a Council, called the *Concilium Ordinarium*, which was a permanent committee of the *Curia Regis*, and corresponded to the later Privy Council (p. 25).

In carrying out the first of his aims he insisted on the surrender of castles held by foreigners and the withdrawal of the foreign mercenaries.

After a struggle with Peter des Roches, the young king's guardian, and Faulkes de Breutè, a French adventurer whose help John had bought, he succeeded in both these objects.

The papal legate had supported young Henry and now tried to use his influence to levy money for the Pope. Hubert secured his withdrawal in 1221, and persuaded the Pope to appoint Langton as legate for life. Henceforth the Archbishop of Canterbury was Legate *ex-officio*,—" *Legatus natus*,"—and thus the exercise of papal supremacy was partly masked and partly mitigated.

That Hubert's policy of peace was not the result of lack of military skill was shown by the expedition he despatched in 1225, and which recovered the English hold on Gascony.

As time went on his position became difficult. The young King, in the hands of Peter des Roches, grew up an accomplish-

ed and liberal-minded man, but for these very reasons he failed to see any great attraction in the stolid common-sense and robust patriotism of men like Hubert : he much preferred the more accomplished and polished Frenchmen. Hubert's authority was undermined. Langton died in 1228. Henry, a devoted supporter of the Papacy, permitted papal exactions to recommence, and listened to everyone who was jealous of Hubert or had suffered under his strong hand. Peter des Roches was the chief of these, and he had the king entirely under his influence.

2. Advancement of foreigners.
(Green 144.)

3. Restoration of Papal influence.

4. Unpopularity of Hubert's discipline.

Henry embarked on foolish military expeditions against Wales (1228) and France (1230) for which he was as unfitted as the country was unready. Hubert opposed both of them, and was accused of having caused their failure by insufficient preparations. He was also accused of having connived at some popular violence which had been done to some Italian clergy who had received benefices in England. He was dismissed in 1232 and imprisoned for a time, though presently released to live out his life in enforced inactivity. The famous saying of the Essex blacksmith who refused to put fetters on him, well sums up his title to honour : " this is that good and faithful Hubert who has so often saved England from being the spoil of aliens."

d, his downfall.

(Green 143.)

e, his work.

He was the last of the great Justiciars. Now that the administration had been developed the functions which had formerly been discharged by one official were divided among several—the judges of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, the " barons " of the Exchequer, and the members of the *Concilium Ordinarium*.

Peter des Roches came to power and at once Hubert's policy was reversed in every particular. The policy was no longer " England for the English." Crowds of foreigners poured in, and were placed in all kinds of offices—political, civil, and ecclesiastical. The Barons rose in opposition, but their leader, Richard, Earl of Pembroke, son of the great William, was murdered. Edmund Rich, the Archbishop, however, forced Henry to dismiss Peter and his dependents. His objects were similar to those of Hubert, but he was a saint rather than a statesman, and when Henry took the control of affairs into his own hands in 1234 the abuses continued unabated.

IV. Regency of Peter des Roches.

Growth of abuses.

The four and twenty years during which Henry ruled alone were years of shame and disaster.

V. Henry's personal Government 1234-58.
(Hutton's *Misrule*.)
(Gasquet *Hy*, iii.)
a, marriage increases influence of foreigners.

I. He married Eleanor of Provence in 1236 and this brought over a shoal of Provençals. Her uncle, William of Valence, ruled the king. Another uncle, Boniface of Savoy, became Archbishop of Canterbury. Peter of Savoy was made Earl of Richmond. Needy foreigners waxed fat in England, and the court became the abode of luxury and extravagance.

D

b, favours Papal abuses.

(G. & M. 71, Stubbs ii, 311, Stephens 230. 238.)

c, loss of Poitou brings more foreigners.

1242.

d, general mismanagement.

e, foolish attempt on Sicily.
(Stephens 243.)

f, excessive taxation

g, absence of opposition.
(Stephens 228, 232, 234 Green 145.)

2. He allowed and supported the influence of the Pope in every way. The right of patrons were outraged by papal appointments—usually Italians—to English benefices. The Pope sent a legate, Otto, who levied fees on every opportunity. "Master Martin," another emissary from Rome, scoured the country, extorting payments in support of the struggle which the Popes (Gregory IX. and Innocent IV.) were waging with the Emperor Frederick II.

3. Henry was enticed into an expedition to Poitou by his stepfather Hugh de la Marche, and the total loss of the province brought another influx of foreigners—Poitevins who had supported Henry there.

4. General mismanagement and misgovernment reigned supreme, and a series of famines added to the misery.

5. In 1254 Henry undertook to gain the crown of Sicily for his young son Edmund, in order to help the Pope in his struggle against the Emperor. New demands came for money for this expedition, in which England would have no possible interest. For some time, in spite of all these grievances, there was no real opposition. Archbishop Rich had been hampered by the Pope's support of his devoted Henry, and had given up the struggle as hopeless even before he died in 1241. Grosteste died in 1253.

Richard of Cornwall, the King's brother, had opposed the foreigners at first, but when he married the Queen's sister, Sancia of Provence, in 1244, she speedily drew him from the popular cause, and the Pope rewarded him for his support of the papal cause by obtaining his election to the barren dignity of King of the Romans in 1257. He left England to prosecute his claims to the Imperial throne.

VI. Opposition.
(Stubbs ii, 55, 73, 103. Green 153.)

a, Baronage under de Clare.

b, Reformers under Simon de Montfort.
(Green 153-155. Hutton's *SimondeM*)

A greater than he took his place. The united opposition of Barons and people found moral support in the work of the Friars, and practical support in the adhesion of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Simon de Montfort. The former represented the old baronial party whose object was merely the selfish desire to oust the foreigners in favour of themselves. The latter was a foreigner himself. He was a Gascon adventurer who had come with the rest to England in search of fortune in or near 1230. He had married the King's sister Eleanor. As Governor of Gascony (1248—1253) he had experienced Henry's ingratitude, and this possibly sharpened his sense of public injustice. His foreign origin perhaps enabled him to see more clearly the real needs of England, as a man on high ground is able to see a conflict beneath more clearly than the actual fighters. Certainly his policy was very different from that of the baronial party in general.

c, Policy of Baronage

At first the latter were the most influential. They insisted on the appointment of a committee which was to bring forward

a scheme of reform. This was done in the Parliament which met at Oxford, and which was accordingly nicknamed by the flippant courtiers, the "Mad Parliament." The Barons however forced their scheme on Henry. By the *Provisions of Oxford*

Provisions of Oxford
1258.

1. A body of 24 Barons was appointed to make immediate reforms, chief of which was
2. The displacement of foreigners.
3. The King was to have a permanent Council of 15 Barons to assist in the general government of the country.
4. A Committee of 12, appointed by the Barons, was to meet three times a year for the business which would in our days be done by Parliament.

(Green 155.)

(Tout 28)

The scheme bears throughout the marks of the party by which it was drawn up.

Criticism.

1. It was directed towards fettering the king rather than towards extending national rights.
2. It restricted the work of government to the baronage only.

Constitutional value.

On the other hand it expressed dimly the valuable principle that royal powers must be exercised with the consent of the King's subjects, and as such it was a constitutional step forward.

Principles such as those represented by Simon and Clare were too contradictory for harmony to last, and divisions showed themselves soon in the baronial party. Henry was thus encouraged after a few years to set at nought the Provisions of Oxford. The Pope released him from his vow to observe them. On the other hand Clare's death in 1262 strengthened Simon's hands, and each side began to muster troops.

d, breakdown of
opposition.

1. Divergence of
aims.

2. Henry repudiates
Provisions of Oxford
1261.

3. Death of de Clare,
1262.

They mutually agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Louis IX. (S. Louis) of France. Knowing little of English politics and strong in the French traditions of royal absolutism, he issued the *Mise of Amiens* annulling the Provisions of Oxford in their entirety.

4. Reference to S.
Louis,
1264.

Mise of Amiens.

London and the Cinque Ports, as well as a great part of the baronage, had not been consulted when the arbitration had been proposed, and they now refused to abide by the decision. Simon de Montfort also rejected it, and, backed by public opinion and the practical support of the Friars and all whom they influenced, took up arms in defence of the Constitution. The King was captured at the Battle of Lewes. There, Simon's men, wearing white crosses on breast and back, opened the battle with prayer. Simon's experience and Prince Edward's impetuosity decided the fortune of the day.

e, action of Reformers
under Simon.

1. Repudiation of
Mise of Amiens.

2. The 'Barons War'
B. of Lewes.

(Tout 56. Oman 418-
20).
1264.

Mise of Lewes.

A Treaty called the *Mise of Lewes*, was agreed upon :

1. The Provisions of Oxford were confirmed.
2. Prince Edward was taken as a hostage for his father.

3. Assertion of authority of Parliament
1264.

3. A new scheme of government was to be drawn up by a 'Parliament': comprising both Barons, clergy, and Knights of the Shire.

This new scheme thus drawn up was as follows

4. Constitutional scheme.
(G. & M. 74.
Green 187.)

1. The King was to have a permanent Council of 9, appointed by the Barons, to appoint ministers and to give advice ;
2. There was to be a National Parliament, comprising Barons and Knights of the Shire, as had not unfrequently met during recent years, *with the addition of members from certain Boroughs.*

(Green 174-176.)
(Taswell Langmead
230, 235).

Its value and importance.

The explanation of this last detail may be that Simon's policy had been warmly supported by many of the towns, but in any case the Constitution of 1264 widened, whereas that of 1258 had narrowed, the limits of Parliamentary influence and composition. As compared with the Provisions of Oxford it is national and patriotic instead of oligarchical and selfish, and Simon's genius is shown in thus interpreting the mind of the nation and anticipating the line of future progress.

5. The Great Parliament.
1265.

In accordance with the arrangement Parliament met next year. It is called the Great Parliament, and it deserves the name for it included for the first time members from both Counties and Boroughs.

But it was not essentially a Parliament in the modern sense of the word :

1. It only comprised supporters of the party in power.
2. It only had the power of checking the government by criticism and influence, not of making laws.

VII. Re-action.

a. Causes.

(Green 159.)

A re-action soon set in in favour of the King.

1. Many were jealous of the power which Simon had obtained, the more so as he was not English-born. It seemed too a strange indignity for the King and his eldest son to be ruled by a subject.
2. The Barons as a whole by no means liked the power he had given to the people. When the danger to themselves was past they had no desire to share their power with any other class.
3. Simon was greater in overthrowing misgovernment than in providing effective remedies, and the new government did not seem much better than the old in the eyes of the nation. Abuses could not be removed all at once, and many of the Barons were not anxious for them to be removed at all.
4. Consequently when Prince Edward managed to escape from his guards he easily found a party ready to side with the King against Simon. The Barons as a body joined him. He cut away the ground from Simon's party by promising to accept the Constitution of 1264

(Tout 39.)

and Simon found himself forced into a false position, and with few friends except his Welsh allies. He was defeated at Evesham. The Welsh fled at the first onset, but Simon and his knights fought on till he was left to fall alone. A blow from behind felled him to the ground and he died saying 'it is the grace of God.'

b, death of Simon at
B. of Evesham.
1265.
(Tout 40. Oman 429.)
1266.

His work remained. Although the *Dictum de Kenilworth*, as the agreement which Prince Edward made with the rebels was called, (1) restored Henry's authority and annulled the Provisions of Oxford; and (2) tried to substitute the vague arrangements of Magna Carta for the more definite arrangements of 1264, yet Prince Edward had the wisdom to adopt all that was best in Simon's policy. The Statute of Marlborough practically secured all the reforms he had urged.

c, restoration of
royal authority.

d, wise action of
Prince Edward (i.)

For the rest of the reign there was good government.

1. Henry had outlived his dangerous friends such as Peter des Roches, as well as his dangerous enemies such as Earl Simon.

2. Prince Edward's influence was strong and prevented a return of the old abuses.

3. The day of the foreigners was gone, and Englishmen filled all offices.

Prince Edward went on the Seventh Crusade in 1270, taking many restless spirits from both sides with him. Henry III. died in 1272.

This was the last Crusade in which England was concerned. The general effects of the Crusades may be summarised here :

VIII. The Crusades
a, General effects on
Europe.

1. For a time they realised "the mediæval ideal of a Christian Commonwealth" by the combined action of the Christian states of Europe.

(Archer & Kingsford
The Crusades :
Gibbon ch. 58-61 ;
Trench ch. x.)

2. They increased the political importance of the Papacy, which headed the movement.

(a) Private warfare was declared treason to the Christian Faith in face of the great cause which called for combined effort against the Infidels.

(b) The Crusaders were claimed as subjects of the Pope, who released them from obligations to all other sovereigns.

3. The material wealth of the Church was increased, but her moral power was weakened by the number of false relics which were imposed on the credulous Crusaders.

4. The idea of Chivalry was developed by the growth of international courtesy.

5. The Commercial Classes grew in strength and importance.

a. Baronial estates were frequently sold or pawned to provide means for military outfit.

b. Towns bought Charters from Kings and lords.

c. Trade was developed by increased intercourse

between the nations of Europe, and by increased connection with the East.

The connection of England with particular Crusades was as follows :

b, connection with
English History.

1. The First Crusade (1096—98). Normandy was pawned by Robert to William II.
2. The Second Crusade (1147—48) began the friendship between England and Portugal for a party, including many Englishmen, on the way to Palestine, put in at Lisbon and helped to capture it from the Moors and to give Alfonso, the first King of Portugal, his capital. It also led to the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry II.
3. The Third Crusade (1189—92).
 - a. Henry II. levied the Saladin Tithe (1188), the first tax on personal property.
 - b. Richard I. sold the English overlordship of Scotland.
 - c. Richard I. sold Charters to Towns in order to raise funds for his expedition.
 - d. His absence enabled Henry II.'s administrative reforms to develop and grow strong.
 - e. Heavy exactions were levied in order to raise his ransom.
 - f. Before his release he had to do homage to the Emperor : the only occasion when an English King did so.
 - g. Military and engineering experience gained in the east enabled him to fight successfully in France and to build Chateau Gaillard.
4. The "English Crusade" (1240—41), which hardly deserves the name, was merely an expedition, led by Richard of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort, to rescue some French and German nobles and Knights.
5. The Seventh Crusade (1270—72), drew away many restless spirits from England after the close of the Barons' War

(Archer 386-7).

EDWARD I. 1272—1307.

i. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL REFORMS.

- i. *His accession*—marriage—character—aims
- ii. *Constitutional work*
 - a. its principles
 - b. early experiments
 - c. The Model Parliament 1295
- iii. *Legal Reforms*
 - 1st Statute of Westminster 1275
 - Statute of Gloucester 1278
 - 2nd Statute of Westminster 1285
 - Quia Emptores 1290
- iv. *Ecclesiastical Reforms*
 - Mortmain or 'de Religiosis' 1279
 - Circumspecte agatis 1285
 - Taxation of Clergy 1296
 - Statute of Carlisle 1307
- v. *Confirmatio Cartarum* 1297
 - de tallagio non concedendo
 - 1299 further confirmation
 - 1300 Articuli super cartas
- vi. *Judicial Reforms*
 - 1. Curia Regis subdivided
 - 2. Justices Itinerant organised and strengthened
 - 3. Statute of Merchants 1283
 - 4. Chancellor's Equitable Jurisdiction
 - 5. Statute of Winchester establishes Justices of the Peace 1285

The new King was in Sicily when his father died. He had gone on a Crusade, confident in the good rule of the new men he had left in power. His trust was not disappointed.

The firm hold which law had taken on the nation is shown by the fact that he was proclaimed King and acknowledged as such before being crowned. He did not return for two years. He was crowned in 1274. He had married Eleanor, the half-sister of the King of Castile, and on her death in 1290 he married Margaret daughter of Philip the Fair of France.

His character had been shown in the Constitutional struggle in his father's reign. With all the Plantagenet love of power he was just and honourable. A skilled lawyer, he was always law-abiding, though ready to take advantage of the law when it was on his side. He was truthful, honest, and temperate, but rapid and resolute in avenging what he judged were wrongs. Though jealous of the royal power he was sincerely desirous of his country's good, and he faithfully served its interests. He was a capable and far-seeing statesman, a brave soldier, quick to discern merit, and skilful in his choice of ministers. These

i. His accession.

(Tout ch. iii.)

Marriage.

Character.

(Stubbs II, 105, 305-7)

Tout 60-75.)

he loyally supported, and received from them faithful service. On his tomb in Westminster Abbey were inscribed the words *Pactum serva*—‘keep promise.’

Aims.

His aim was to consolidate the kingdom, both externally and internally.

1. Externally, he desired to make the union with Wales and Scotland real and effectual. In this he failed for his plan was several centuries too early.

II. Constitutional Work.

a, its principles.

2. Internally he aimed at (a) giving a satisfactory system of government, and (b) organising a satisfactory system of law.

(Stubbs ii, 301, 537.

Green 179;

Tout 142-3.)

(a) He did the first, by giving all a direct share and interest in the common weal. He acted on the principle that “what concerns all should be approved by all,” and the final result was the Model Parliament of 1295, consisting of Bishops, Barons, and representatives of the Clergy and the Commons. It marked the triumph of de Montfort’s principles.

It was more permanent than Simon’s Great Parliament because it was not the result of a party movement but of a long series of genuine experiments. According to the particular purpose on hand various combinations of representatives were called at various times in the earlier years of the reign: the Clergy, the townspeople, the lawyers, and the merchants, were at one time or another called to confer with Barons and Bishops singly or in different combinations.

c, The Model Parlt. 1295.

(Stubbs ii, 5, 110, 304.
Tout 144.)

Of all these experiments the assembly of 1295 was the most famous, as forming the Model on which Parliament ultimately was framed. All the members sat together, but that it contained the elements of the Parliament of to-day may be seen from the following analysis.

Model Parliament 1295.

Modern Parliament.

Greater Barons
Archbishops, Bishops, [Abbots]
Representatives of lower Clergy

House of Lords
Convocations of
Canterbury and
York.

Knights of the Shire and Burgesses

House of Commons.

III. Legal Reforms.

(Tout 80, 122, 81-83;
Select Ch. 429.)

(b) He obtained the name of “the English Justician” by a great series of legal reforms, defining spheres and duties, and securing peace and order. In this work he was helped by great lawyers like Bracton, Fleta, Britton, Burnell his Chancellor, John Kirkby, his Treasurer; Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, and Walter Langton, Bishop of Lichfield.

(Tout 123.)

i. Legislative Reforms to strengthen local institutions and check the feudal power of the Barons:

1st St. of Westminster 1275.

(Tout 124.)

1. 1st *Statute of Westminster*; a comprehensive Statute covering the whole ground of legislation, and reviving the powers of the Courts of the Hundred and the Shire.

2. *Statute of Gloucester*; to improve local justice by regulating the Baronial rights. Acting on Returns which had been obtained ("The Hundred Rolls") Edward issued writs of *Quo Warranto*, to inquire by what warrant the Barons held the rights they were exercising. Where possible these were diminished, to the distaste of the Barons. Many of them had won lands and privileges by irregular means and resented this inquiry into their claims. Earl Warenne when asked for his title-deeds produced an old rusty sword saying "my ancestors came over with William the Conqueror; with the sword they won their lands and with the sword I will keep them." Such an incident served to show Edward how much tact was needed in dealing with the Barons.

St. of Gloucester,
1278.
(Tout 125.)

 (Tout 137.)
 3. *2nd Statute of Westminster*, or "*de donis conditionalibus*"; established the law of entail, *i.e.* the estate was confined to a particular line of heirs.

2nd St. of West-
minster,
1285.
(Tout 127-9.)
 4. *Quia Emptores*; to prevent the sub-letting of land in such a way that the King lost the services due from it. In all future transfers the purchaser became the dependent of the lord, not of the seller. (Thus the Statute increased the number of tenants-in-chief.)

Quia Emptores,
1290.
(Tout 131-4.
Green 173.)
- ii. *Legislative Reforms touching ecclesiastical matters.* These were by no means anti-clerical or even anti-papal. The objects Edward had in view were :
1. To define the relations of Church and State.
 2. To arrange that the Clergy should bear their proper share of national taxation.
1. *De Religiosis or Mortmain*; forbade ecclesiastical or other corporate bodies to hold land in such wise that it came into mortmain, and so the King lost the services which were due from it. (cf. "*Quia Emptores*" above.)

De Religiosis or
Mortmain.
1279.
(Tout 126, 157.)
 2. *Circumspecte agatis*; a royal writ defining the sphere of ecclesiastical courts.

Circumspecte agatis
1285.
(Tout 158.)
 3. Edward's expensive wars led to heavy taxation of all classes. The Clergy, headed by Archbishop Winchelsey, received from the Pope a Bull "*Clericis Laicos*" which forbade them to pay secular taxes. Edward retaliated by outlawing those who refused to pay, and the Clergy yielded. The excellent result was that the Clergy ranged themselves with the rest in the growing national feeling, and henceforth when they strove for re-

Taxation of Clergy,
1296.
(Tout 191;
Reich 192.)

IV. Ecclesiastical Reforms.

(Tout 149-153.)

lief from unfair burdens they did so as standing inside of, not apart from, the nation.

St. of Carlisle,
1307.

4. *Statute of Carlisle*; forbade money to be sent to Rome, and complained of Provisions and Papal exactions.

V. *Confirmatio
Cartarum.*

(Stubbs II, 142-8.
Tout 194-198.
G. & M. 80.)

iii. *The "Confirmation of the Charters."*

Edward's wars with Wales and Scotland which will be spoken of later were very expensive, and the heavy taxation which they caused led to much irritation. Added to these was a war with France in 1293. Philip iii., in enforcement of his feudal claims to sovereignty over Aquitaine, seized the province. Next year there was a widespread outbreak in Wales. In 1295 the Scots allied themselves with France and revolted from England.

To obtain larger supplies Edward called the Model Parliament which has been already described. But these did not suffice, and the troubles, especially in France and Scotland, continued. Further taxation caused further discontent, and all classes felt the burden. The Clergy were the first to protest (cf. *Clericis Laicos* above, p. 57). The Barons followed next year. Edward ordered certain of them to go to fight in Gascony while he went to stir up the Flemings, who were allies of England in consequence of the wool trade. They pleaded the excuse that by feudal law they were only obliged to serve with the King. Edward, the lawyer, was furious at finding the letter of the law thus turned against him. "You shall either go or hang" he exclaimed. "I will neither go nor hang" retorted Bigod. Edward went to Flanders, and Barons, Bishops and Merchants, presented a demand for the re-issue of Magna Carta (p. 42) and Henry III.'s Charter of the Forests, with the addition of new articles directed against the levying of Customs without consent of Parliament. This was an abuse which Magna Carta had not foreseen, for Customs then, as trade was small, had been insignificant.

1296.
1297.

Young Edward in his father's absence Confirmed the Charters in his father's name. The *Confirmatio Cartarum* was then sent to Edward at Ghent for his ratification.

297.

Though there was no assertion of new principle the act settled a question which had been in dispute since the days of John. The best and wisest king since the Conquest consented to limit his powers on the demand of the national assembly which he, more than anyone else, had called into being. It was henceforth plain that the government of England must rest with King and Parliament conjointly.

It may be noticed that two versions of *Confirmatio Cartarum* are found.

- i. *French*, by which Edward held himself bound, and which became law. It omitted the word "tallage" among

the Customs which Edward promised to abstain from taking.

- ii. *Latin*, called "De tallagio non concedendo." This probably was an unauthorised version of the legal document, though it was called a Statute in

(a) Petition of Right.

(b) A Judicial decision in 1637.

Two further Confirmations were extorted :

1. When going on the Scottish war in 1299 he had to buy supplies by another Confirmation. He then tried to introduce a saving clause ("salvo jure coronae no strae") in the Forest Charter, but in vain.
2. In 1300 the delay of the Forest Reforms led to further demands, which extorted "Articuli super cartas" promising additional reforms.

iv. Judicial Reforms :

1. The *Curia Regis* was definitely subdivided into

1. Court of King's Bench, which dealt with criminal cases.

2. Court of Common Pleas, for cases between subject and subject.

3. Court of Exchequer, for cases concerning revenue.

2. Circuits of *Justices Itinerant* were made regular and definite ; 1285 empowered to deal with civil cases, 1300 criminal cases.

3. *Statute of Acton Burnell* (or Statute of Merchants) improved the methods of recovering debts.

1283.

4. Chancellor's powers extended and enlarged, so as to provide for cases where the law was ineffective or injurious : hence came the "equitable" jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery.

(Green 171)

5. "Conservators of the Peace" (or "Justices of the Peace") appointed in each Shire to carry out the provisions of the *Statute of Winchester*, which made elaborate arrangements for the preservation of order.

1285.

VI. Judicial
Reforms.
(Green 170.)

2.—EDWARD I.'S ATTEMPT TO CONSOLIDATE THE ISLAND.

i. *The Conquest of Wales*

a. Causes

b. The final Conquest

1. Homage of Llewellyn 1277

2. Rebellion of Llewellyn and David 1282

3. Edward's determined action

4. Death of Llewellyn (1282) and David (1283)

c. Organisation of Wales

1. Statutes of Wales 1284

2. Edwardian Castles

3. Towns

4. "The Prince of Wales" 1301

ii. *Scotland*

a. Causes

b. Early relations

1. Proposed marriage with "the Maid of Norway." Treaty of Brigham 1290
2. The Overlordship
3. The award of Northham (1291) and Balliol's accession

c. Scottish Rebellions

- [Model Parlt.] 1. John Balliol 1295—the Rebellion of the *Nobles*
Balliol defeated at Dunbar 1296
English Guardians appointed
2. William Wallace 1297—the Rebellion of the *People*
[Confirmatio Cartm.] Wallace victorious at Cambuskenneth 1297
Wallace defeated at Falkirk 1298
- [Articuli super C.] Death of Wallace
Appointment of Scottish Rulers
3. Robert Bruce 1306—the *National* Rebellion
Bruce defeated at Methven
but perseveres
Death of Edward I. 1307
Continued success of Scots

i. THE CONQUEST OF WALES.

Conquest of Wales Various reasons led to the Conquest of Wales.

(Stubbs ii, 111.
Tott 16-22, ch. vi.
Green 165-169.)

a, Causes.

(G. & M. 77.)

1. Edward desired to form the island into one kingdom.
2. The assertion of the overlordship of the English Kings (p. 31) was always resented by the Welsh, and was repudiated whenever opportunity offered.
3. On the Borders there was constant warfare and mutual quarrels between the two peoples, which prevented any permanent peace and progress.
4. The Welsh had assisted the Barons in their opposition to the King in the late reign, and Edward realised that they might at any time do the same thing again (cf. p. 53).

South Wales was fairly well in English hands (p. 11), and the great Earls of Chester held Flintshire and Denbighshire. But the greater part of Mid-Wales and of North Wales was still practically independent. Edward determined to bring it into subjection.

b, The final Conquest

1. Homage of Llewellyn, 1277.

He began by summoning Llewellyn, Prince of Snowdonia, the most powerful of the Princes of Wales, to do formal homage. Llewellyn made excuses and evasions for some time. At length Edward's patience gave way and he declared war. Llewellyn soon submitted, and on doing homage was allowed to govern Snowdonia as Edward's vassal.

2. Rebellion of Llewellyn & David 1282.

After some years his brother David, who had been brought up at the English Court, persuaded Llewellyn to rebel. Edward was thoroughly roused and took measures to prevent another outbreak. The whole organisation of government was transferred to Shrewsbury. Edward took the field in

3. Edward's determined action.

person. An immense army advanced against the mountains of Snowdon from the east while a fleet operated in the north and cut off retreat. Llewellyn escaped through the cordon but was killed in a skirmish at Builth in December 1282. Early in the following year his treacherous brother David was captured, and after trial at Shrewsbury was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

4. Death of Llewellyn (1282) & David (1283)

Measures were then taken for the settlement of Wales.

c. Organisation of Wales.

1. At Rhuddlan the Statutes of Wales were issued

1. St. of Wales, 1284.

a. Welsh laws were revised, though in a conservative spirit.

b. The country was divided into Counties.

c. Special officials were appointed to govern.

2. A ring of strong castles was built round the newly-conquered districts, at Conway, Carnarvon, Bangor, Harlech and elsewhere.

2. Edwardian Castles (Oman 539.)

3. Towns were encouraged, and colonised by English traders.

3. Towns.

4. In 1301 a son was born to Edward in Carnarvon Castle, and Welsh sentiment was gratified by his being made Prince of Wales. Since then the title has generally been borne by the heir to the English throne.

4. "Prince of Wales" 1301.

The country was far from being incorporated with England, and the Welsh were by no means completely reconciled to their position. Occasional risings, as for instance that which occurred in 1295, showed that the Lords Marchers must still retain their powers. But there was never serious danger from the Principality.

ii.—SCOTLAND.

The fundamental cause of Edward's contest with Scotland was his wish already mentioned to unite effectively the whole island. Border raids and help to foreign enemies were further reasons why Scotland should be subdued.

a. Causes.

He began by policy. On the death of King Alexander III. he proposed that his young son Edward should marry Alexander's infant successor, Margaret, the "Maid of Norway" as she was called. In the Treaty of Brigham 1290 the Scots agreed, but two months later Margaret died.

b. Early Relations.

1. Proposed marriage—"the Maid of Norway."

(Green 188.)

T. of Brigham, 1290.

He then revived the old claim to be feudal overlord of Scotland (p. 31). The Scottish nobility raised no particular objection: in any case, to many of them who held lands on both sides of the border it meant but little.

2. The Overlordship

(G. & M. 77;

Tout ch. x;

Green 184-187.)

The death of the Maid of Norway gave him the opportunity of enforcing the overlordship in a practical way. There were many claimants to the throne and Edward was asked to act as judge between them. He undertook the task, bargaining first that the new king should acknowledge his overlordship. This

3. The Award of

Norham

(1291.)

Balliol's accession

(1292.)

(Green 188-189.)

having been agreed upon he took all pains to decide the question properly and legally. Having consulted Scottish authorities he decided in favour of John Balliol.

c. *Scottish Rebellions*
(Tout ch. xi, xii.)

1. John Balliol, 1295.
The Rebellion of the
Nobles.
(Green 190-191.)
[Model Parlt. 1295.]

Balliol defeated at
Dunbar, 1296.

English Guardians
appointed.

2. William Wallace,
1297.

The Rebellion of the
People.

Wallace victorious
at Cambuskenneth
1297.

(Oman 563.)

[Confirmatio Car-
tarum 1297.]

Wallace defeated at
Falkirk, 1298.

(Oman 566-68;
Green 192.)

Death of Wallace.

Appointment of
Scottish Rulers 1299.
(Green 193.)
[Articuli super
Cartas.]

3. Robert Bruce 1306
The National
Rebellion.
(Green 211.)

Balliol accordingly did Homage to Edward and was crowned King. It soon appeared that Edward did not intend his position to be a nominal one, and the appeals which he allowed and encouraged from Scottish Law Courts brought home even to the Scottish nobles their real subjection to England. They forced Balliol to resist, and made alliance with the King of France who was attacking Aquitaine. The rising was however confined to the nobles and Edward speedily crushed it. He defeated and captured Balliol at Dunbar and sent him prisoner to England.

Scotland was placed under English Guardians, Warrene and Cressingham, who enforced strong order.

This displeased the common people, who had not been used to much discipline. William Wallace headed a rising of the people, and faced the English rulers at *Cambuskenneth*. Warrene with his troops was on the other side of the river Forth, and, despising the rabble a mile away, advanced to attack them over a bridge on which no more than two horsemen could ride abreast. When the vanguard had crossed the Scots rushed upon the divided army and cut them down. Five thousand were killed, Warrene fled, and Wallace made a fierce inroad into England.

Edward came northwards in person and Wallace retired, hoping to wear out the English army by a policy of inaction. At last Edward discovered him near *Falkirk*, with his army in a solid mass, protected in front by a morass. Two detachments of Edward's horse rode round and flung themselves on the flank of Wallace's compact body in vain. The Scottish pikemen adopted the same plan of resistance as Wellington's infantry did in later years when withstanding Napoleon's cavalry. Edward's keen eye perceived the situation at once. Ordering his archers to the front, he cut with their arrows gaps in the serried ranks of Scotsmen, and into these his horsemen poured with deadly effect. The result was a massacre.

Wallace himself was presently betrayed and executed. Comyn continued the struggle, but Edward soon forced him to submit.

He now tried to win over the country by placing Scotsmen in power as his deputies—Comyn himself, Robert Bruce and Wishart. But the English overlordship had united Scotland in opposition, and Bruce determined to take advantage of the general resentment.

He had some claims to the throne, and getting Comyn his rival claimant out of the way by murdering him, he threw himself on the support of the whole nation and was crowned at

Scone. The rising this time was a national one. Bruce himself was defeated at *Methven* and fled, but the resistance continued. Edward ravaged the country with great cruelty, but as soon as he returned to England Bruce re-appeared and the work had to be taken in hand again. Edward died at Burgh on Sands, near Carlisle, on his way to lead another expedition against the redoubtable Bruce. What Edward I. could not accomplish Edward II. was not likely to do, and under the weak government which set in with the new reign Bruce won success after success.

Bruce defeated at
Methven,
but perseveres.

Death of Edward I.
1307.

(Tout 228-9)

Continued success
of Scots.

EDWARD II. 1307—1327.

- i. *Characteristics of XIV. Century*
- ii. *Edward II.'s Character*
- iii. *His Reign*
 - 1. Government by favourites: Piers Gaveston
 - a. Baronial opposition—Lords Ordainers—The Ordinances 1310—Lancaster
 - b. Constitutional significance of the Ordinances—Criticism
 - c. Edward's opposition—Gaveston's murder 1312. Its importance.
 - 2. Edward's Personal Rule 1312—1325
 - a. Scottish losses—Bannockburn 1314
 - b. Lancaster's incompetence
 - c. Influence of Despencers
 - d. Lancaster's opposition and death 1322. His spurious reputation
 - e. Parliament of York (1322)—Victory of Absolutism by Constitutional means
 - 3. Edward's Downfall
 - a. Causes
 - b. Deposition in Parliament 1327
 - c. His death
- iv. *Significance of the Reign*

i. *Characteristics of XIV. Century.* Just as the new king differed in character from his father, so the new Century which began with his reign differed from the preceding one.

The great work of building up national unity, which had been the aspiration of the XIII. Century, was to a considerable degree completed when Edward I. died. To a great extent it is this very completion which explains the inferiority of the XIV. Century. True greatness arises not so much from accomplishments as from aims and aspirations, and when the task is accomplished there is always a tendency to slacken and to rest.

The mark of the XIV. Century is the absence of high aims. Its great men are small in comparison with the heroes of the thirteenth. Its struggles are largely the quarrels of factions. Its constitutional progress is mainly the result of the previous century's work, and is concerned with details which seem insignificant when compared with the great principles which had previously been contested. Religious activity declined into heresy and persecution. Chivalry became selfishness and cruelty. The refinement which appeared was only on the surface, and luxury brought indifference to the suffering of the poorer classes.

(Gardiner i, 213, 227, 238.)

Architecture changed from the severe but vigorous *Early English Style* into the elegant luxuriance of the *Decorated*

(e.g. Lichfield, Exeter, Wells, the central tower at Lincoln, and the nave of York Minster) which reached its highest development about the middle of the century. It then began to exaggerate its beauties and so provoked a reaction in favour of plainer and squarer features. Hence arose the *Perpendicular Style*, of which Wykeham's New College at Oxford (1380—86) is the earliest example. Richard II. completed Westminster Hall just in time to be deposed in it. Magdalen Tower at Oxford is one of the latest specimens of Perpendicular.

Edward II. was worthless, improvident and insolent, unable to rule or even to choose capable ministers to rule for him. The only trace of a policy in his actions is a desire to free himself from the constraints of the Baronage, and this for selfish ends only: he had no idea of promoting the national welfare. But he was not strong enough to be a tyrant, and thus his attempts to rule by means of favourites chosen by himself and wholly dependent on himself utterly failed. He married, in 1308, Isabella, daughter of Philip IV., whom popular hatred called "the She Wolf of France." Richly she deserved her name: her influence throughout was bad, and her faithlessness and treachery ultimately did much to ruin her husband.

Piers Gaveston was his intimate friend. Accomplished and clever, but avaricious and ambitious, he had been banished by Edward I. As soon as the new reign began he was recalled and exercised the utmost power. His worthless character made his influence wholly bad. His witty French insolence stung the stolid English Barons to the quick, as he gaily flung about nicknames which cleverly fastened upon personal characteristics. Lancaster was "the Mummer," Pembroke "the Jew," Warwick "the Black Dog."

The Barons, under the leadership of Thomas of Lancaster (son of Edmund Crouchback), insisted upon his dismissal, and in the face of the Scottish war Edward had to consent. He was promptly recalled. Then the Barons, supported by Parliament, appointed *Lords Ordainers* who brought forward a series of *Ordinances* of Reform.

1. Gaveston was to be banished.
2. Ministers were to be approved by the Baronage.
3. War was only to be waged with the consent of the Baronage.
4. New Customs were to be abolished.
5. Parliament was to meet at least once a year.

The *Ordinances* (especially 1, 2, 3) show clearly the real nature of the movement. Lancaster was aspiring to play the part of de Montfort without either the ability or the sincerity of Sir Simon the Righteous. It was the last great attempt of the Baronage to obtain the chief power in the State. Its aim was not to promote the national welfare but the power of a

II. Edward II.'s Character

(Stubbs ii, 325-7,
379-80.
Green 207.)

III. His reign.

1. Govt. by Favourites.

Piers Gaveston.

(Green 208.)

a, Baronial opposn.

Lords Ordainers.

The Ordinances 1310
(Green 208.)

Lancaster.

(Stubbs ii, 334.)

b, Constitutional significance of the Ordinances.

Criticism.

single class only, and the Ordinances simply transferred power from the King to the Baronage. The people were not considered, and this presently gave the King an effective excuse for destroying them.

c, Edw.'s opposition

Such an attempt to confine all power to a single class could not succeed. Even Edward was able to perceive this. He set the *Ordinances* at defiance and Gaveston returned. His triumph was short-lived for 'The Black Dog' had vowed the favourite should feel his fangs. He was seized by Lancaster and his head was struck off on Blacklow Hill, near Warwick.

Gaveston's murder
1312.

Its importance.

(Stubbs II, 355.)

Personal violence is never the right way of securing reforms, and Gaveston's murder gave an example which was terribly copied. It was the first of a series of similar crimes which accompanied the so-called constitutional struggle which began now and lasted till Bosworth Field, making it resemble a primitive Blood Feud. Moreover Gaveston had roused opposition rather by offensive personal behaviour than by attacks on the constitution. His influence was no doubt dangerous and harmful, but the constitution could not yet be said to have suffered. His execution without trial was merely murder committed in revenge for personal insults.

2. Edw.'s Personal
Rule, 1312-1325.a, Scottish losses.
(Oman 570.)

For a long time Edward dissembled. Bruce's successes enforced attention and he had to march against him. By 1314 Bruce had almost cleared Scotland of the English. Only the fortresses of Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick, remained of Edward's conquests. The first-named was the most important strategic point in Scotland, and its governor had promised to surrender unless relieved by S. John's Day, June 24th. Even Edward II. could not stand still and see the last of his father's conquests disappear.

Bannockburn 1314.

He summoned help from England and Wales, and even from Ireland and Gascony. Lancaster refused to assist, but a vast host was collected. Probably no less than 50,000 men marched across the border. The gay companions of the thriftless king were in the ascendant, looking for an easy victory over the despised Scots. Generalship was conspicuously absent.

Bruce let them waste their strength by advancing well into the heart of the country. He waited for them on the rolling hillsides which overlook the Bannock Burn. The front to be defended was narrowed considerably on either hand by marshy pools and swampy ground, and behind it Bruce massed his 40,000 patriots. The firm ground he honeycombed with concealed holes as traps for Edward's horse.

The English advanced in three lines, all crowded together, and continually wedged closer as they neared the narrow approach to the enemy's position.

Bruce rode in front of his men encouraging them to stand

firm against the gay and well-armed mass. Sir Henry Bohun, seeing this, rode out against him hoping to end the war with his own lance. Bruce awaited his charge, turned aside Bohun's lance with his battleaxe, and as the knight was carried past him brained him with a single blow.

Night fell before the battle had begun. The English spent the night in carousing, and next morning drew up in what array they could. Most of them were of course unable to get near the Scots. Crowded and crushed together, manœuvring was out of the question. The 30,000 archers were behind the horsemen and could not get in front : the men who might have won the day were useless. The unwieldy mass began to move forward. Many fell in the holes ; the rest pressed on above them. Confused and unable to move freely, the English, as they reached the Scots, were hacked to pieces. They died by hundreds, too brave to retreat even if the ranks pressing on behind would have allowed them to do so. The archers tried to reach the Scots by shooting high, but seem to have killed more friends than enemies. In the confusion Bruce's camp followers snatched up what weapons lay near, and swooped down the hills on the English flank crying "Slay, slay." Imagining they were serious reinforcements the English were seized with panic. Edward himself set the example of flight, and all who could extricate themselves followed him. The peasantry waylaid the fugitives and butchered them by hundreds. Never in English History was there such a slaughter of the Baronage, and the loss of men-at-arms was enormous. Some 30,000 are said to have been lost in the expedition. The Scots lost 2 knights and 2,000 pikemen.

Edward on his return to England was compelled to admit Lancaster to power. But office only showed more clearly his incapacity. Scotland was completely lost and in all departments there was mismanagement. Though he was strong enough to force himself into power he had no real capacity, and everything fell into confusion.

Famines added to the discontent, and Edward's influence became stronger as the failure of his opponents became more marked.

He came under the sway of the Despensers, father and son. They were able officials, though quite destitute of public spirit. Their object was simply to secure their own advancement, and their legal training taught them that they might do this by playing the part of champions of the national constitution which Lancaster had set at naught.

Lancaster and the old Baronage, including Roger Mortimer, one of the semi-independent Lords of the Welsh Marches, raised the familiar outcry against "favourites." They persuaded parliament (1321) to banish the Despensers. Edward had not forgotten the murder, or forgiven the murderer of his

b, Lancaster's incompetence.

(Stubbs ii, 355-365.)

c, Influence of Despensers.

d, Lancaster's opposition & death, 1322.

friend, and Lancaster's misgovernment had ruined his popularity. Edward and the Despensers called a general levy at Coventry and hastened northwards against him. Crossing the Trent, not at Burton where the Earl was waiting to intercept him, but a few miles higher up, he suddenly appeared in the earl's rear. Lancaster hurriedly fled and three days afterwards was overtaken, defeated, and captured, at Boroughbridge. No mercy could be shown him, and his head was struck off beneath the walls of his own castle of Pontefract. His death shattered the opposition. Some other Barons were put to death. Roger Mortimer was imprisoned.

His spurious reputation.

(Stubbs ii, 335, 355, 365-6.)

In spite of Lancaster's violence, selfishness, and incapacity, he was revered almost as a saint and a martyr. Having been the chief opponent of royal folly the people forgot his faults and venerated his memory as though he had been the champion of popular rights. For these he cared nothing at all. His reputation rested on his opposition to a worthless king, not on his character or his real aims.

e. Parlt. of York 1322
Victory of Absolutism
by constl. means.

(Stubbs ii, 266.)

Edward went to York and Parliament was summoned. There the Despensers made common cause with the people against the Baronage, and won by asserting a great and valuable constitutional principle. (1) On the plea that the Commons had not been consulted the Ordinances were revoked. (2) The Act of 1321 against the Despensers was annulled. (3) *The right of the Commons to a share in Legislation was definitely asserted.*

3. Edward's down-
fall.

Edward and his new Ministers had asserted a great constitutional principle. But they had done so for purely selfish objects. For a time it placed them in power, but there could be no stability.

a. Causes.

(Stubbs ii, 360.)

1. The King's own incompetency and folly grew no less.
2. The Despensers, though they could not be condemned as either upstarts or foreigners, became as hateful as former favourites through their arrogance and bad government.
3. Lancaster's party was desirous of revenge.
4. The Queen had proved faithless and treacherous. She went to France, where she was joined by Roger Mortimer who had escaped from prison, and the two plotted to depose both King and ministers.

They secured the person of young Prince Edward and returned to England. Many of the Barons joined them. The Despensers were seized and hanged. The King himself was taken prisoner and Prince Edward was proclaimed the "Guardian" of the realm.

b. Deposition in
Parlt. 1327.

Parliament met and the King was put on trial. The following charges were brought against him :

1. Incompetency.
2. Evil Counsellors.
3. Neglect of duty.
4. Foreign losses in Scotland, Ireland, and Gascony.
5. "Incorrigible and without hope of amendment."

(Green 211.)

He was adjudged guilty, and was deposed. Of course there was no pretence of a formal trial, but there was no precedent to follow: it was something that his deposition took place in Parliament. The moral justice of the sentence cannot be denied, and it is therefore idle to question its legality.

(Stubbs II, 380.)

He was murdered later in Berkeley Castle.

c, His death.

Edward's reign is a period of transition :

IV. Significance of the Reign.

(a) It completed much that had been begun by Edward I. :

1310.

1. The constitutional reforms of Edward I. were carried on in the *Ordinances* ; and although the Barons tried to monopolise parliamentary authority, the Statute of York (1322) showed that the Commons were still strong. The powers which the Barons had gained passed to the whole Parliament and ultimately to the Commons.

2. The Statute of York completed the work of the Parliament of 1295—which had declared that the consent of Commons was necessary in taxation—by declaring that it was also necessary in legislation.

1322.

(b) It was the seed-time of influences which ripened afterwards:

(i) The murders of Gaveston and Lancaster were the first steps of movements which resulted in

1. the deposition of Edward II.,
2. the quarrels of John of Gaunt and his son with Richard II.,
3. the Wars of the Roses.

(ii) The way was prepared for the outbreak of the "Hundred Years War" with France, by Edward's marriage with Isabella, and by the weakness which allowed Aquitaine to be over-run by the French (p. 72).

EDWARD III. 1327—1377.

I.—SCOTLAND AND FRANCE.

- i. *Regency of Mortimer*
- ii. *Edward's Character*
- iii. *Scotland*
 - a. David Bruce 1329
 - b. Edward Balliol and English Overlordship
 - c. Halidon Hill 1333
 - d. Franco-Scottish Alliance 1334
 - e. Neville's Cross 1346
 - f. Burnt Candlemas 1356.
- iv. *War with France* ("Hundred Years War" 1337—1453)
 - a. Causes
 - 1. commercial
 - 2. political
 - 3. dynastic
 - b. Results
- v. *Periods of Edward III.'s War with France*
 - (i.) Desultory fighting 1339—1345; Victory of Sluys (1340) secures England's Naval Supremacy
 - (ii.) The Campaign of Cressy
 - a. Cressy 1346—effects of the victory
 - b. Capture of Calais 1347—its importance
 - c. Success in Aquitaine
 - d. The Black Death 1349
 - e. Truce with France
 - (iii.) Renewal of Hostilities
 - a. Defeat of Spanish Fleet off Winchelsea 1350
 - b. Scottish Invasion—"the Burnt Candlemas"
 - c. The Black Prince's ravages in South
 - (iv) The Poitiers Campaign 1356
 - a. The Black Prince's March
 - b. Victory at Poitiers 1346
 - c. Capture of King John
 - d. Anarchy in France
 - (v.) Invasion of North East 1359
 - a. Advance to Paris
 - b. Peace of Bretigny 1360
 - c. Its want of finality
 - (vi.) The Black Prince in Aquitaine
 - a. Spanish Expedition 1367
 - b. Misgovernment and discontent
 - c. French assertion of Overlordship and declaration of War 1369
 - d. Bertrand du Guesclin
 - e. Decline in English power
 - f. Massacre of Limoges 1370
 - (vii.) John of Gaunt
 - a. His Spanish policy
 - b. Naval defeat off La Rochelle 1372
 - c. His disastrous march from Calais to Aquitaine
 - d. Treaty of Bruges 1375
- vi. *Causes of English Failure*
- vii. *Anti-Papal Legislation*
 - Provisors 1351
 - Premunire 1353
 - Repudiation of Papal Tribute 1366

For some three years the disgraceful Queen and her favourite Mortimer ruled. But such a rule could not continue. It was moreover as incapable as it was immoral. They failed to keep the Scots in check and had to make with them the *Treaty of Northampton*. By this Robert Bruce was acknowledged King and Edward's sister Joan was promised to Bruce's son David. Mortimer offended the other Barons by his arrogance, and young Edward took advantage of the general discontent to seize Mortimer at Nottingham Castle. He was hanged at Tyburn, and Isabella was kept a prisoner at Castle Rising.

Young Edward was handsome, accomplished and brave. He was not without political ability, but he was heartless, selfish, and extravagant. He would have aimed at making himself a tyrant but that he needed popular support for his military projects; and he would have become a voluptuary sooner than he did but for his military ambition. His character grew worse as he grew older.

Scotland first demanded his attention. Robert Bruce died in 1329 and his young son David was crowned as King. But a party of discontented nobles set up Edward Balliol as a rival, and gained Edward III.'s assistance by acknowledging the English Overlordship. The Scots refused to accept Balliol, but Edward sent troops to his aid and defeated them at *Halidon Hill*. He made the Scots attack, and after shooting them down with his archers charged them with his knights. Berwick was taken.

Bruce fled to France: there he renewed the alliance of 1295 and began that long period of Franco-Scottish friendship which lasted for many centuries. Balliol maintained a difficult position for some years, but in 1341 was driven out by the patriotic party, and David Bruce returned. The Scottish policy was to harass the English in the north when they were occupied with the French in the south. The outbreak of war between France and England soon gave them ample opportunities of pursuing this plan.

When Edward was away on the Campaign of Cressy David Bruce led an invasion of England. He was defeated and captured at *Neville's Cross*, again because he led the Scots to attack whereas their strength lay in defence. The English archers so riddled his left wing that it fled, and left the centre exposed to the flank attack of the men-at-arms. David himself was captured, but the Franco-Scottish alliance continued. In 1355 when war was renewed between England and France the Scots recaptured Berwick. Next year Edward took it back and in revenge ravaged the Lothians in what was called the "Burnt Candlemas." But Scottish Independence remained intact.

Many causes besides Edward's military spirit led to the

i. Regency of Mortimer.

1328.

ii. Edward's Character.

(Stubbs ii, 391.

iii. Scotland.

a, David Bruce 1329

b, Edward Balliol and English Overlordship.

c, Halidon Hill 1333
(Barnard 69.)
(Oman 586.)

d, Franco-Scottish Alliance, 1334.

e, Neville's Cross, 1346.

(Oman 587.)

f. "Burnt Candlemas," 1356.

IV. War with
France.
("Hundred Years
War," 1337-1453.)

a. Causes.

(Ashley *Edw. iii.*
and his wars.)

1. Commercial.

2. Political.

3. Dynastic.

outbreak of the war with France which lasted with brief intermissions for over a century. They are not easy to disentangle, for the avowed reasons were not always the real ones, and the real ones are not the apparent ones. Commercial motives and dynastic pretexts both played their part in beginning and in maintaining the struggle.

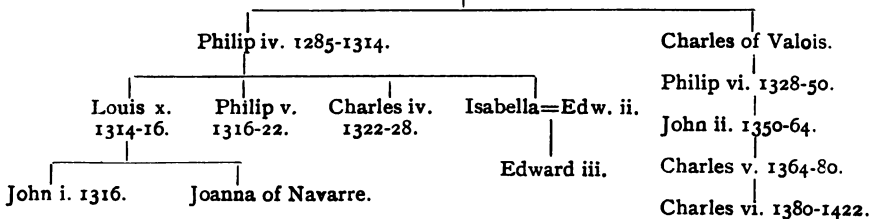
English trade had enormously increased in two directions. To the north-east of France, the woollen trade with Flanders was important; in the south-west there was the wine trade with Aquitaine. In both directions trade was much injured by the French pirates, and was now endangered by the growing desire of the French for national unity. Just as Edward I. had desired to unite all Britain, so the French Kings were endeavouring to unite all France. This led them to make attempts on the vassal English province of Aquitaine, and on the vassal provinces of Flanders. England was bound to support the latter for in the manufacturing towns of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, etc., the English wool was manufactured into cloth.

There were other sources of irritation on both sides. The attacks of French pirates in the Channel, irregular enough, but not wholly disapproved of by the French authorities, led inevitably to reprisals. Edward revived the old title of "Lord of the Narrow Seas" which the English Kings had borne when they had held both sides of the Channel, and organised a navy to enforce it. The alliance between Scotland and France for mutual advantages has already been mentioned.

Difficulties increased, and only an excuse was needed for a formal declaration of War.

The excuse was readily found. Philip VI. had claimed absolute supremacy as King of France over Aquitaine and had actually occupied the province during the weak reign of Edward II. Edward III. retaliated by denying his title to be King of France at all, and asserted that he himself was the rightful king. The claim was a transparent excuse. It was based on the fact that his mother Isabella was the daughter of Philip IV., whereas Philip VI. was only the nephew. The French rule of male succession, called the "Salic Law," of itself barred Edward's title, but even if, as he asserted, the Salic Law did not apply, the direct descendant was Joanna Queen of Navarre, Philip IV.'s grand-daughter.

Philip iii. (1270-1285).



The effects of the Hundred Years War on England may be summarised here. b, Results

1. It created a spirit of selfishness and luxury, and increased the separation of interests between the Baronage and the lower classes.
2. It demoralised Chivalry by awakening a spirit of vindictiveness and cruelty (cf. p. 76-7).
3. It checked progress, and caused great misery, especially in the lower ranks of society.
4. It helped to increase the power of Parliament by the need of constant supplies.
5. It gave England a foremost place in Europe.
6. It delayed the Union of England and Scotland for centuries.
7. In its later stages it was responsible for much of the spirit which produced, and the disorder which permitted, the Wars of the Roses.
8. It strengthened and made permanent the tradition of hostility to France.
9. It helped the Anti-Papal feeling, for the Popes were from 1309 to 1377 living at Avignon, to all intents and purposes subjects of the French Kings.

Just as the two nations drifted into war from irregular reprisals, so there was at first no settled plan of campaign. Reprisals continued on both sides, though on a larger scale than heretofore. Edward invaded France from the north-east in conjunction with his Flemish allies, but with no definite object or success. The French retaliated by ravaging the south coast. This seems to have brought home to Edward the need of effectually controlling the Channel. He formed a great plan for destroying the naval power of the French. The French Fleet was at *Sluys*, and Edward collected as many ships as he could and completely shattered it.

v. Periods of Edward III's war with France:

(i.) Desultory Fighting. 1339-45.
1339.

(Green 224.)

Victory of Sluys secures England's Naval supremacy
1340.

(ii.) The Campaign of Cressy.

(Green 225.)

The importance of this action was soon seen. A disputed succession in Brittany led him to interfere in French politics by championing the cause of the candidate whom Philip disfavoured. An army was prepared at Southampton for Brittany, but at the last moment Edward decided that Normandy afforded a more favourable opening, and he landed at Cape La Hogue. The sudden change of destination shows not only the helplessness of the French Fleet in allowing Edward to choose his own point of attack: it also shows the continued absence of any settled plan on the English side. The progress of the campaign was similarly indefinite. Edward simply marched through the country plundering and ravaging, and keeping near to the sea. On arriving at the Seine he found the bridges broken down, and had to march far up the river to Poissy before he was able to cross. The Somme proved as

difficult an obstacle as the Seine, and it was not till he had reached its mouth that a fordable place, called Blanchetaque, was found.

a, Cressy 1346. Hotly pursued by the French army Edward managed to cross just before the incoming tide made the ford impassable. A little distance beyond the river, at Cressy, the English army drew up to await the French assault.

(Barnard 70.
Green 226.)

Edward had learnt the value of the Scottish methods (p. 62, 71). His front line was composed of dismounted men-at-arms, in two great divisions, with archers between them and on each flank.

(Barnard 67.)

The French came upon the English, thus arranged, unexpectedly, but the impetuous knights pressed on to drive the invaders out of the land. Some Genoese crossbowmen were hastily thrown forward to bombard the English, but the superior power of the long-bow beat them back. It was the long-bow which throughout gave Edward III. his superiority in the French campaigns. The French knights charged over their defeated Genoese auxiliaries, but found they could not reach the English line: the deadly long-bow shot them down with such irresistible force that the mass was checked by a bank of its own dead and wounded. Again and again the knights tried to charge, but they could only do so ineffectually, and meanwhile the English archers poured deadly volleys on either flank. The mortality was terrible, and the English victory complete.

Effects of Cressy.

It made a deep impression throughout Western Europe. (1) The English at once gained such a name for courage and skill that it was only occasionally that any one dared to oppose them. (2) It revolutionised military tactics. Cavalry charges were discredited. Edward always fought as at Cressy with dismounted men-at-arms supported by archers, and the superiority of the English long-bow over the clumsy French cross-bow invariably made such a formation invincible when it could be employed in defence.

b, Capture of Calais
1347.
(Green 228.)
its importance.

Edward marched on Calais, the chief home of the French pirates, determined (1) to extirpate them, and to hold the town as (2) a mart for English trade and (3) a base for military operations in France. The resistance was stubborn, and during its progress news was brought of the invasion of the Scots and their defeat at Neville's Cross (p. 71). After a twelve-months' siege Calais was taken and transformed into an English town. Its prosperity was ensured by the regulation that all wool sent abroad must pass through it.

1347.

c, Success in
Aquitaine.

In Aquitaine too the English arms were successful. The French were driven out and English influence extended.

d. Black Death 1349.

e, Truce with
France.

Mutual exhaustion suggested a truce. The Black Death necessitated it (see later).

On the death of Philip (1350) his successor, John, renewed hostilities with England. He allied himself with the King of Castile who sent a fleet to English waters. The Spanish fleet shared the fate of the French, and the English victory of Winchelsea cleared the sea of all rivals. In 1355 John persuaded the Scots to invade the North of England: the result was "the Burnt Candlemas" (p. 71). Next year the Black Prince, as Edward's eldest son was called, planned a great campaign in France. He himself went to Bordeaux intending to march northwards to join with John of Gaunt who was to set out southwards from Normandy. The northern force made no headway, but the southern, after engaging in a mere plundering expedition across the south of France right to Narbonne on the Mediterranean, marched northwards, spreading terror by its ravages. Drawing near to Orleans the fear spread that Prince Edward designed to seize Paris. John collected an army and threatened the English communication with their base. The difficulty of obtaining provisions in a hostile country was great, and want and disease thinned the Black Prince's ranks. He tried to retreat westwards but John overtook him at Poitiers. He turned to bay and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the French.

- (iii.) *Renewal of Hostilities.*
 a, Defeat of Spanish Fleet off Winchelsea 1350.
 b, Scottish Invasion "the Burnt Candlemas."
 c, The Black Prince's ravages in South.

(iv.) *The Poitiers Campaign 1356.*

- a, Black Prince's March.
 b, Victory at Poitiers 1356.

The battle somewhat resembled Cressy. The English formed up on a hillside, with farm buildings on their right and a little river on their left. In front ran a hedge, strongly held by archers. John, remembering the failure of the cavalry at Cressy, dismounted his knights and sent them to attack on foot. They omitted however to remove their heavy mail, so they could only move slowly. Under these circumstances they afforded easy marks for the long-bowmen and for the men-at-arms. They advanced in three lines, one after another, but each was driven back. John brought up his reserve for a last effort. When half way up the slope the Black Prince led a direct charge upon them in front and delivered a flank attack upon their left. They broke and fled. King John himself, with 1900 knights, was captured. He was sent to England to join the King of Scots in captivity.

- (Barnard 71.)
 (Green 230.)

Deprived of her King France fell into terrible disorder. Government failed entirely. Free Companies, lawless bands of soldiers and adventurers, roamed at will, pillaging and murdering unhindered. Cultivation ceased. Famine inevitably followed. A rising of the despairing peasantry, called the Jacquerie, added to the horror.

- c, Capture of K. John
 d, Anarchy in France.

In 1359 Edward led another expedition from Calais to Rheims, then through Burgundy and almost to Paris. Opposition there was none, but even Edward's heart was touched by the misery which everywhere met his eye. He agreed to the *Peace of Bretigny*.

- (v.) *Invasion of North East 1359.*
 a, Advance to Paris, (Green 231.)
 b, Peace of Bretigny 1360.

Relch 501.)

1. Edward surrendered claims to the French throne and French dominions,
2. Except (a) Aquitaine in the south (Poitou, Guienne, Gascony),
(b) Calais and Ponthieu in the north.

But these were to belong to him absolutely, *i.e.* free from all feudal obligations.

3. John was to be freed on payment of ransom.

c, Its want of finality The conditions of the Treaty were such as to secure no lasting peace.

1. The ransom demanded for John was so enormous that France, impoverished by war and disorder, could not pay it, and John died in England in 1364.
2. The retention of Aquitaine was a mistake. It could not be held effectually without great effort and constant difficulty, while
3. Its possession by England was a perpetual source of irritation to the French, who would be sure to take advantage of every opportunity to attack it.

(vi.) *Black Prince in Aquitaine.*

(Green 233.)

a Spanish Exped'n.
1367.

Aquitaine was placed in charge of the Black Prince. In 1367 his aid was sought by his neighbour the King of Castile, Pedro the Cruel, to put down a rebellion of his subjects. The Black Prince went with a force and defeated the rebels at *Navarette*, but Pedro repaid him by providing insufficient supplies and by refusing to discharge the expenses of the expedition.

b, Misgovernment
and Discontent.

The Black Prince's government of Aquitaine had never been good, and he now increased the discontent by the heavy taxation he had to levy to pay his soldiers. His subjects appealed to the French King (Charles V.) as their feudal overlord (p. 24). He was the more ready to welcome an excuse for helping them as the late rebellion in Castile had been caused by his support of a claimant to Pedro's crown. He summoned the Black Prince as his vassal to appear at Paris, and when this was refused, declared war.

c, French assertion
of overlordship
and declaration of
war 1369.

d, Bertrand du
Guesclin.

Before the end of the reign the English had lost nearly all Aquitaine. The French commander, Bertrand du Guesclin, was not an ordinary knight who only fought for amusement or when he was obliged, but a professional soldier. He avoided pitched battles, but harassed the English in every possible way.

e, Decline of English
power.

The English were but ill-supported by England, for the King was falling into his dotage (p. 79) and the government at home was in confusion. The Black Prince had caught a fever in Spain which had ruined his health; he was not the soldier he had been formerly. His character too had deteriorated, and the irritating tactics of du Guesclin exasperated him. When he found that Limoges had helped the French troops he marched against it and from his litter ordered the whole of its

f, Massacre of
Limoges 1370.

inhabitants, including the women and children, to be slaughtered in cold blood. He grew worse and had to return to England early in 1371.

The English losses continued. John of Gaunt had married a daughter of Pedro the Cruel and now laid claim to the throne of Castile. In retaliation the Spaniards sent a fleet northwards and deprived the English of the sovereignty of the seas for a generation by a victory off La Rochelle. Reinforcements could not be shipped to Aquitaine, and John of Gaunt had to march troops thither from Calais right across France. He arrived with only a fraction of his host, and the English power in Aquitaine melted away. At last a Truce was made in 1375 called the *Treaty of Bruges*, by which the English retained only Calais in the north, and Bordeaux and Bayonne in the south.

- (vii.) *John of Gaunt.*
 a, Gaunt's Spanish policy.
 (1371.)
 b, Naval defeat off La Rochelle 1372.
 c, His disastrous march from Calais to Aquitaine 1373.
 1373.
 d, Treaty of Bruges 1375.

The causes of this great failure were :

1. Long familiarity with bloodshed and victory had caused a general lowering of the English character.
2. The Black Death crippled English resources.
3. The English were fighting far away from their base.
4. The loss of naval supremacy (La Rochelle).
5. The political skill of Charles V. and the military skill of du Guesclin and other French generals.
6. The decline of Edward III. in health, reputation, and character ; the lack of military ability among the English generals.
7. The general misgovernment of Aquitaine by the Prince of Wales.
8. His breakdown in health.
9. The English position in France was essentially a false and artificial one which could only be maintained at immense cost, and with increasing difficulty as it became more and more distasteful to the growing feeling of unity among the French.

VI. Causes of English Failure.

The French War strengthened the Anti-Papal feeling of the nation and caused much Anti-Papal legislation.

VII. Anti-Papal Legislation.

Papal exactions and the intrusion of foreigners into English benefices had long made the Papacy unpopular in England. But the King had generally supported the Pope in return for his good offices (cf. p. 43, 51). The French War changed the King's attitude. The Pope being at Avignon from 1309 to 1377 was under French influence, and accordingly the Kings henceforth were more ready to join in the national opposition.

1351 1st Statute of Provisors : forbade the Pope to appoint to next vacancies.

Provisors 1351.

1353 1st Statute of Praemunire : forbade appeals to the Pope

Praemunire 1353.

1366 Parliament repudiated the Pope's claim to the tribute which John had promised (p. 40).

Papal Tribute repudiated 1366.

2.—ENGLISH AFFAIRS.

1. *The Parliament of 1341*
 - (1) Archbishop Stratford's Case
 - (2) Tallages forbidden
 - (3) Auditors of Public Accounts
 - (4) Ministerial Responsibility
- ii. *Statute of Treason 1352*
- iii. *Trade*
 - a. Its political importance
 - b. The Wool Merchants
 - c. Maletolts forbidden 1339
 - d. Taxation of Wool without consent of Parliament forbidden 1362, 1371
 - e. Immigration of Flemish weavers
 - f. growth of Eastern Counties
- iv. *The Good Parliament*
 - a. Abuses: Alice Perrers, John of Gaunt, etc.
 - b. Reforms of the "Good Parliament" 1376. Introduction of Impeachment
 - c. Death of the Black Prince and return of Abuses
- v. *John Wiclif*
- vi. *The Black Death 1347*
 - a. Effects
 - b. Statute of Labourers
 - c. Revival of Villanage
 - d. Discontent

Edward III.'s personal bravery and military success gave him an artificial popularity at first. But later there came a great change. The war fell into disfavour as the expense and misery which it caused became apparent. The selfish and vicious traits in Edward's character rapidly developed. He neglected the work of government, and mismanagement became general in all parts of the administration.

i. *Parlt. of 1341.* The early years of the war were accompanied by constitutional gains, caused by the need of Parliamentary support.

a, *Abp. Stratford's case.* The failure of the invasion of France in 1340 was attributed by Edward to the incomplete preparations made by Archbishop Stratford. He was therefore brought to trial. Stratford demanded to be tried by his peers, and Parliament supported him in his claim. Edward had to yield the point.

b. *Tallages forbidden,* The same Parliament completed Edward I.'s *Confirmatio Cartarum* (p. 58) by abolishing the royal right to levy Tallage without consent of Parliament. It also asserted the following great constitutional principles :

- c, *Auditors of Public Accounts.*
- d, *Ministerial Responsibility.*
 - a. Auditors of the national finances should be appointed by Parliament
 - b. Ministers should be appointed by Parliament.
 - c. Ministers should be answerable to Parliament.

ii. *Statute of Treason 1352.* *The Statute of Treason* was passed in 1352, and for the first time defined the crime. The following acts were decided to constitute treason :

- a. Compassing the death of the King or the heir to the throne.

- b. Levying war against the King
- c. Killing royal officials, judges, etc., while in the exercise of their duties.
- d. Counterfeiting or clipping the coin of the realm.

The last provision shows that *trade and commerce* had become important. For many years the Merchants had been encouraged by the Kings (p- 56). In this reign we have seen how great a share the need of protecting our commercial interests had in causing the war with France. Successes in France, the capture of Calais, the repression of piracy, all helped trade, and Edward directly encouraged it because it enabled supplies to be obtained more readily for his military expeditions. The taxes on wool became a great source of revenue. Edward I. and Edward II. had often treated the wool merchants in an arbitrary way, and Edward III. followed their example. Maletolts, or excessive Customs duties, were forbidden in 1339, and in 1362 and again in 1371 all special taxation of wool without consent of Parliament was forbidden. The Political Economy of the age was not very advanced, and trade regulations were by no means constant. There were frequent changes of policy. These interfered with the regular supply of wool to the Flemish looms, and the French war acted in the same way. It was simpler for the looms to come to the wool, and thus a considerable number of Flemish weavers settled in the Eastern towns and set up their manufactures there. As their trade grew they needed more workmen, and the Norfolk towns became some of the largest and the richest in the kingdom. Many are now mere villages, but their magnificent churches, so marked a feature of the Eastern Counties, are an abiding memorial of their former greatness.

III. Trade.

a. Its political importance.

b. The Wool Merchants.

c. Maletolts forbidden 1339.

d. Taxation of Wool without consent of Parlt. forbidden 1362, 1371.

e. Immigration of Flemish weavers.

f. Growth of Eastern Counties.

IV. The Good Parliament.

a. Abuses of Alice Perrers, John of Gaunt, etc.

b. Reforms of "the Good Parliament" 1376.

In his later years Edward fell under the influence of worthless favourites, among whom Alice Perrers was the chief. The absence of the Black Prince allowed the scheming and unscrupulous John of Gaunt to gain great power under such circumstances. Under pretence of clerical reform, and utilising for selfish purposes the Lollard agitation against the Clergy, the King was prevailed upon to dismiss William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, his Chancellor. Corruption had free play. Even the Judges could no longer be trusted. The Black Prince feared that John of Gaunt was aiming at the succession. He himself was not likely to live long, and his son, the legal heir, was only a boy. The Clergy were alarmed at the Lollards, whom Gaunt and his friends supported hoping thereby to be able to plunder the Church.

At length public opinion grew strong enough to express itself in action. In 1376 an effort at reform was made in what was consequently called the "Good Parliament,"

(Green 234.)

helped by the Black Prince and William of Wykeham. Gaunt himself could not directly be touched, but Alice Perrers was brought to trial for interfering with the administration of justice, Lord Latimer was impeached, and others of their party were attacked in other ways. All were found guilty, and a Council was appointed to carry on the government. By the introduction of Impeachment as a method of enforcing the responsibility of Ministers to Parliament an important proof was given of Parliament's increasing power, but as an effectual reform the effort failed. The Black Prince died shortly afterwards, and no sooner had the Good Parliament dispersed than John of Gaunt, Alice Perrers, and their whole set returned. The Council was dismissed. Wykeham was attacked. Only the precedent of Impeachment remained. Parliament had evidently little actual power beyond that of criticism and opposition.

Introduction of Impeachment.

c, Death of Black Prince and Return of Abuses.

V. John Wiclif.
1377.

Unable to attack Gaunt directly the party of reform attacked him through his ally Wiclif, who was prosecuted. The nominal charge was heresy: the real cause was his support of John of Gaunt. Gaunt tried to overawe the Bishop of London, Courtenay, in his court, but the citizens of London protected him. Next day they sacked the Savoy Palace, Gaunt's London house. A few months afterwards Edward III. died.

1377.

(Green v. 3.
G. & M. 94.
Wakeman 150.
Poole Wiclif.)

John Wiclif (1324—84) had been prominent at Oxford, and had figured as one of the English Commissioners who were appointed in 1374-5 to negotiate with the Pope about papal dues. At Oxford he attacked the degenerate Friars and taught the doctrine of "Dominion of Grace." By this he meant that merit and personal worth alone entitled a priest to respect and alone gave value to his spiritual ministrations. He also propounded some loose doctrinal teaching.

John of Gaunt perceived that Wiclif's theory would help his own scheme for robbing the Clergy, by giving it the moral support it otherwise lacked. He accordingly patronised and protected him, and seemed to sympathise with his schemes for clerical reform. We have seen how Gaunt's opponents attacked Wiclif as a means of attacking Gaunt, and how thoroughly public opinion realised the true nature of the whole incident.

Wiclif proceeded to put his theories into practice. He organised a kind of religious order called the "Poor Preachers" whom he sent out to preach his doctrines, and he flooded the country with tracts. His most valuable work was a translation of the Bible into English.

His doctrine of clerical worth may have had its value as a theory, but it is impossible of application. If applied in practice it could only result in encouraging hypocrisy. As was inevitable and natural he met with opposition from the

clergy, and this led him to deviate from the accepted doctrines which the clergy taught. He was not however interfered with and died in the performance of his clerical duties at his parish at Lutterworth.

His followers (called Lollards), as often happens, exaggerated his doctrine, and by applying it universally, became preachers of revolution. They taught that worth and merit alone should confer position, privilege, and office. Nobles and Barons, landlords, all who possessed this world's goods, should be tried by this test. John of Gaunt and his comrades, who had been ready enough to apply the principle to the clergy, suddenly found they had been playing with edged tools. The Insurrection of 1381 brought the fact home to them and to the nation in an unmistakeable way (p. 83) and from that time Lollardry was discredited. Public opinion turned against it when it became political rather than religious; but it was more easily open to attack on the latter than on the former ground. Hence arose the Persecution of the Lollards—nominally religious but really political.

The Black Death was a terrible pestilence which swept across Europe, and reached England in 1347. At least one half of the population was destroyed by it, the mortality being largest, of course, among the poorer classes. The immediate effect was the stoppage for a time of the French War (p. 74). Another effect was also immediately seen. As only half the labourers remained to do the work there came a rapid rise in wages, and of course the effort to stop this, in the Statute of Labourers, ordering that wages should remain at their former level, failed.

The landowners then tried to go back to the old custom of *villanage*, by which the labourers had held their cottages and land on condition of fixed services. Such a method had been highly inconvenient, and had gradually given place to the modern system of wages and rents. But the old laws of villanage remained, and the old title deeds specified services and not rents and wages.

The attempt to enforce the old laws and title deeds caused much discontent, as of course the services had doubled in value. The crudely socialistic teaching of the Lollards fell in with the practical grievances of the labourers, and as years went by revolutionary ideas spread. They found practical expression early in the next reign (p. 83).

vi. "The Black Death
1347, 1361, 1368.
(Gasquet's *Black Death*;
Jessop's *Friars*;
Stubbs ii, 416;
Green 246-250.)
a, Effects.
b, Statute of Labourers.

c, revival of Villanage

d Discontent.

RICHARD II. 1377—1399.

- i. *Early years : Regency*
 - a. Peasants' Revolt 1381
 - 1. Causes
 - 2. Wat Tyler
 - 3. Demands of Rebels
 - 4. Richard's energy and promises
 - 5. Repudiation by Parliament
 - 6. Forcible Repression
 - 7. Effects
 - i. Disappearance of villanage
 - ii. Withdrawal of Gaunt
 - iii. Lollardry discredited
 - iv. Coalition of Baronage and Clergy
 - v. Lowering of political aims
 - vi. Increase of Parliamentary power
 - b. Rise of the King's Party : de Vere and de la Pole
- ii. *Period of Revolutions 1386—1389*
 - 1. Council of Regency appointed 1386
 - 2. Declared illegal by Judges 1387
 - 3. Appellant Lords in "Merciless" (or "Wonderful") Parliament 1388—(compared with Ordainers)
 - 4. Richard's coup d'etat 1389
- iii. *Richard's personal Rule 1389—99*
 - a. Constitutional and popular at first
 - b. Attack on Appellants 1397
 - c. Parliament of Shrewsbury makes Richard absolute 1398
 - d. Bolingbroke's banishment
- iv. *Richard's Deposition 1399*
 - a. Seizure of Gaunt's lands 1399
 - b. Bolingbroke's return
 - c. General disaffection towards Richard
 - d. Bolingbroke advocates Reform
 - e. Deposition of Richard II.
 - f. Election of Bolingbroke as Henry IV.
- v. *Constitutional Importance of Richard II.'s Deposition*
- vi. *Richard II.'s character*
- vii. *Comparison and contrast with Edward II.'s Reign*
- viii. *Effects of the Reign*

- i. *Early Years : Regency.*
(Smith. *Troublous Times R. ii.*)
- a. *Peasants' Revolt 1381.*
- (1.) *Causes.*
(Green 248-252.)

Richard II., the son of the Black Prince and grandson of Edward III., was only eleven years old when he became King. Consequently the government had to rest with a Council. John of Gaunt was carefully excluded from the Council, but he exercised great influence. His marriage to Blanche of Lancaster had given him the title and vast domains of the Duchy of Lancaster, and he adopted and handed on to his descendants the traditional Lancaster policy of opposition to the King [cf. above, p. 65].

A very great danger soon arose. The discontent of the peasantry, caused by the attempts to revive villanage and

fanned by the crude socialism taught by the Lollards, grew daily greater. Disbanded soldiers roved about in lawless companies. An expedition to Brittany failed, and proved expensive. The imposition of a poll-tax, *i.e.*, a tax levied from all alike, was the last straw, and a great uprising of the Peasants broke out in many parts of the country. It seems to have started in Kent with Wat Tyler, but as outbreaks occurred at the same time in all the midland and eastern counties it had evidently been organised, and suspicion naturally fell on the Lollards. One of these, a priest named John Ball, openly preached social revolution from the couplet

*When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman ?*

Everywhere the Manor Court Rolls, which recorded the conditions of villanage, were seized and destroyed, and lawyers were attacked. Wat Tyler's band marched to London where they murdered the Chancellor, Archbishop Sudbury, and the Treasurer, Sir Robert Hales, and clamoured for John of Gaunt. The citizens, irritated by the restrictions imposed by the Gilds, supported them. The young king, energetic and capable beyond his years, and strangely different from his later character, boldly met them at Smithfield and enquired their grievances. These were :

1. The abolition of villanage.
2. The reduction of rents.
3. The dismissal of Gaunt.

(2.) Wat Tyler.

(Green 252-3.)

(3.) Demands of the Rebels.

In the course of the interview Wat Tyler behaved with such insolence that the Lord Mayor struck him down. Richard boldly faced the infuriated mob and said he would take their leader's place. Promising that their demands should be granted he persuaded them to disperse.

(4.) Richard's energy and promises.

The upper classes were too strong to be overpowered by disorganised mobs, and elsewhere the rebellion was crushed by main force.

No sooner was the danger past than Parliament refused to ratify the King's promise. The charters and pardons he had granted were recalled, and the Statute of Labourers was re-enacted.

(5.) Repudiation by Parlt.

(6.) Forcible Repression.
(Green 254.)

But such attempts to bring back obsolete customs were doomed to failure. Villanage died out, and paid labour became everywhere the rule.

(7.) Effects.

John of Gaunt disappeared from public life, glad of the excuse that he had to prosecute in Spain his wife's claims to the crown of Castile.

i. disappearance of Villanage.

ii. withdrawal of Gaunt.

Lollardry fell into disrepute, and if there lingered any desire to plunder the clergy it was among the burgesses, not among the Barons.

iii. Lollardry discredited.

All those who had been attacked, Barons, Bishops, land-

iv. Coalition of
Baronage & Clergy.

(G. & M. 96.)

v. lowering of
political aims.vi. Increase of Par-
liamentary power.b. *Rise of the King's
Party: de Vere
and de la Pole.*II. Period of
Revolutions
1386-89.1. Council of Regency
appointed 1386.2. Declared illegal
by Judges 1387.3. Appellant Lords
in "merciless" (or
"wonderful") Par-
liament 1388.

1388.

(Compared with
Ordainers.)

owners, clergy, were drawn together by the need of a common resistance to a danger which threatened all alike. Thus the Church became identified with the Baronage in a way it had never been before. Earlier alliances had been to oppose royal tyranny or to secure national advantages. Henceforth the object was merely self-preservation. The Bishops became representatives of the great families, men like Archbishop Courtney, Cardinal Beaufort, and Archbishop Bourchier, instead of patriotic statesmen like Langton, scholars like Anselm, and saints like Edmund Rich and S. Hugh of Lincoln.

Such a union of parties, bound together by so strong a motive as self-interest and self-preservation, was sure to be powerful; and was sure to strengthen the Parliament, which in those days represented mainly the upper classes alone.

For some years after the Peasants' Revolt the great nobles monopolised all power and used it for purely selfish ends. The King as he grew up gradually formed a party of his own choosing, men like de Vere and de la Pole, who readily set themselves to increase his power because it was the mainstay of their own importance. They were not upstarts or foreigners like Gaveston, and they used strictly constitutional methods. But they were none the less distasteful to the old Baronage, whom they kept out of office. They thus aroused a powerful opposition, led by such men as Thomas of Woodstock, (Earl of Gloucester,) and Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt.

From 1386 to 1389 there was a definite struggle between the rival parties. In this the power of Parliament was strikingly seen, for each party in turn, though striving for purely selfish objects, used constitutional methods.

In 1386 de la Pole was impeached, and the King was forced to accept a *Council of Regency* headed by Gloucester. It was a clever appeal to the parliamentary right to control ministers.

Next year Richard retaliated by an equally clever move. He appealed to the Judges, who declared the late measures illegal.

In 1388 the five leading Barons, Gloucester, Bolingbroke, Arundel, Warwick and Nottingham, banded together and accused (or "appealed") of Treason, the King's friends de Vere and de la Pole. They also took up arms, defeated de Vere at Radcot Bridge, and filled Parliament with their supporters. The King's friends were executed or banished with excessive vindictiveness, which gave rise to the name of the "Merciless Parliament" and disgraced the cause in which it was used. The Lords Appellant in many ways resemble the Lords Ordainers. Their avowed object was in some ways similar and their procedure outwardly the same in so far as they used parliamentary methods. But the later

movement is more openly selfish and more transparently vindictive.

Richard was careful how he overthrew so dangerous a combination. In the following year he declared himself of age and took the direction of affairs into his own hands. He proceeded cautiously. He won over the people by good trading legislation. Gaunt returned to England, having, as he said, married Catherine Swinford and needing the King's consent to the match: he therefore ranged himself on the King's side. Statutes passed to lessen the Papal power (2nd Provisions 1390, 2nd Praemunire 1393) fell in with popular sentiment. Peace was made with France and Scotland. Ireland was pacified, and the King's cousin, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the grandson of Edward III's second son Lionel of Clarence, was appointed Deputy. He had recently been recognised as Heir-Apparent. All Richard's actions were carefully constitutional, in harmony with Parliament and by the advice of the Council, which now came to be called the Privy Council.

The sudden change in Richard's conduct which occurred in 1397 came as a startling contrast. After ruling so well for eight years he suddenly made a resolute attempt not merely to evade but actually to destroy the limitations on the royal power which two centuries of laborious progress had built up.

His motives are difficult to ascertain.

There may have been a long-cherished determination to avenge himself on the Appellants. The death of Queen Anne of Bohemia in 1394 removed a wise counsellor, and his second marriage, to Isabella of France, in 1396, brought an influx of foreigners who may have shown him the way to revenge by telling him of the independence enjoyed by the Kings of France.

In July 1397 he seized without warning three of the Appellant lords. Parliament as usual was pliant and readily convicted them of conspiring to seize the government. Arundel was executed, Warwick confessed and was banished, Gloucester was sent a prisoner to Calais where he soon conveniently died.

The parliament of Shrewsbury committed political suicide and made Richard practically absolute.

1. The acts of the Merciless Parliament were annulled.
2. The functions of Parliament were handed to a Committee of eighteen.
3. The King was granted a Revenue for life.

Two of the Lords Appellant remained, and soon Richard seemed to have an opportunity of destroying them like the others. They accused one another of treason and arranged to settle the dispute by a duel. Richard stepped in and banished Norfolk (Nottingham) for life and Bolingbroke for ten years.

4. Richard's *Coup d'état* 1389.

(Green 261.)
1389-99.

III. Richard's Personal Rule

a. Constitutional and popular at first.

(Green 261-2.)

b. Attack on Appellants 1397.

c. Parlt. of Shrewsbury makes him absolute 1398.

d. Bolingbroke's banishment.

IV. Richard's
Deposition.

a, Seizure of Gaunt's
lands 1399.

b, Bolingbroke's
return.

c, General disaffec-
tion towards Richard.

(cf. Shakespeare's
Rich. II.)

His easy success seemed to destroy his caution. John of Gaunt died almost immediately afterwards and he seized his estates. This of course gave Henry Bolingbroke a good excuse to return. He landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire.

He found that Richard had gone to Ireland to avenge the murder of Mortimer. In England many were disaffected : some for political reasons, offended by Richard's attempt at absolutism ; some for patriotic reasons, grieved at the abuses which had shewn themselves since Richard had overthrown the constitution and had fallen under the influence of unworthy favourites like Bushey and Green ; some for selfish reasons, having private grievances to revenge. All welcomed the strong and capable Bolingbroke, who advanced unhindered through the land, joined by an increasing number of supporters. The Clergy had found Richard lax in repressing Lollardry ; the Baronage as a body could not forgive him for depriving them of power. The people had been offended by the heavy taxation he had recently levied. The rich had been plundered by the taking of ' benevolences ' and forced loans.

The Regent in Richard's absence, the Duke of York, found himself without public support, and made no opposition. Richard was kept in Ireland by contrary winds till the army which Salisbury had collected had disbanded in despair. Even when he landed he seemed helpless.

d, Bolingbroke ad-
vocates Reform.

Bolingbroke soon took up the position of champion of reform. He advanced to Bristol where he captured and executed Bushey and Green, and then marched to Flint where he met Richard. The King was taken to London. There a Parliament was summoned, which, in face of the armed force, could only carry out Bolingbroke's orders. The King was formally deposed on definite grounds :

e, Deposition of
Richard II.

(Green 264.)

1. He had violated the Constitution and made himself absolute.

2. He had violated justice.

3. He had levied illegal taxation.

f, Election of Boling-
broke as Henry IV.

Bolingbroke then claimed the Crown for himself and was formally elected.

V. Constitutional
Importance of
Richard II's
Deposition.

Conducted thus formally in Parliament Richard's deposition was a Constitutional Revolution, and showed in a striking way the importance of Parliament.

1. It was a practical denial of the theory on which he had based his actions viz., that sole power rested with the King although he might govern with the assistance of Parliament.

2. The express choice of Bolingbroke as King by election of Parliament made a parliamentary title henceforth essential to the English monarchy.

VI. Richard II's
Character.

Richard's character is throughout a problem. In the earlier years of the reign he seemed entirely under the influence

of others, yet even so early as 1381 it is related that he had said to his mother, after his dramatic action at Smithfield, "To-day I have saved my heritage which I had lost." In later years he is similarly full of contradictions. He made himself strong by good rule and wise policy; he made himself absolute by constitutional methods. Yet he ruined himself by folly and incapacity, and ruled so unconstitutionally during his brief period of absolutism as to alienate everyone from him. He was clever, attractive, capable of sudden energy but apparently not of persistent vigour. Perhaps he has fared badly in having his history written by his enemies.

The reigns of the second Edward and the second Richard present obvious points of similarity. In each

VII. Comparison
and Contrast with
Edward II's Reign.

1. Jealousy of the Court Party united the Barons in opposition.
2. The method of reform was a Committee of Barons alone.
3. This was overthrown by the agency of the whole Parliament.
4. The details of the actual dispositions were similar in various respects.

(Stubbs II, 532.)

On the other hand there are striking differences.

1. Edward made his difficulties himself, whereas Richard inherited his from his father.
2. Edward had no policy, was led by worthless favourites for their own ends, and was incapable of any serious legislation: but Richard had a definite policy of absolutism, directed his ministers for his own ends, and passed much good legislation.
3. Edward's downfall was caused through merely personal quarrels: Richard's through a struggle between opposing constitutional principles—royal absolutism and parliamentary power.
4. Edward fell because he was too weak to rule well; Richard because he was strong enough to rule badly.

The influence of the reign on after history was very great.

VIII. Effects of
Richard II's Reign.

1. The rivalry of parties in the Baronage had increased, and had grown in bitterness as deaths and wrongs on both sides had left soreness and resentment.
2. The deposition of Richard II. was a victory for the opposite party, and this helped to make the sovereign a party leader, and the Crown a prize for which opposing factions might contend. This is the key to the understanding of the period which follows: it was a series of tragedies in which the great families were struggling for the crown.

HENRY IV. 1399—1413.

I. THE KING AND HIS RIVALS.

i. *Henry's threefold claim*

1. Descent, 2 Divine favour, 3 Need of Reform
His Real Title—Election by Parliament
Other Claimants

1. Richard II.

2. Edmund Mortimer.

ii. *The Settlement of the Lancastrian Dynasty*

a. Causes of Difficulty

b. Rebellions

1. Rutland and Kent, due to discontent

2. Northumberland's 3 rebellions, due to disappointment

(1) With Hotspur, Douglas and Glendwyr (Battle of Shrewsbury 1403)

(2) Northumberland with Scrope—"Redress of Grievances"—
(Battle of Shipton Moor 1405)

(3) Northumberland's last rising (Bramham Moor 1408)

2. HENRY'S POLICY.

i. *Ecclesiastical*

a. Repression of Lollards for political reasons

b. The Crusades

c. The Great Schism

ii. *Constitutional*: 'The Lancastrian Experiment' contrasted with Yorkist unconstitutional rule

a. Council of Reform 1406

b. Financial Rights

c. Royal Council

d. The 'Unlearned Parliament' 1404

e. Parliamentary Privileges

iii. *Foreign affairs*

1. Scotland—Capture of James

2. France.

3. Marriage alliances

iv. *Closing Years*

1. Dissensions in Council

2. Henry's Character and Work.

I. THE KING AND HIS RIVALS.

(Wylie's *Henry IV.* contains a mass of details cf. also Gairdner's *Lancaster and York*).

i. *Henry's threefold claim.*

(Stubbs iii, § 302).

On 30th September, 1399, Henry of Lancaster was solemnly chosen to replace Richard, who had resigned. In Parliament the new King stated that he had come to restore the realm which was all but "undone for default of governance and the undoing of good laws." This, he said, he did by right of descent from Henry III. and with the help of God. His claim was in fact threefold,

1.—As a true descendant,

2.—As a champion favoured by Heaven,

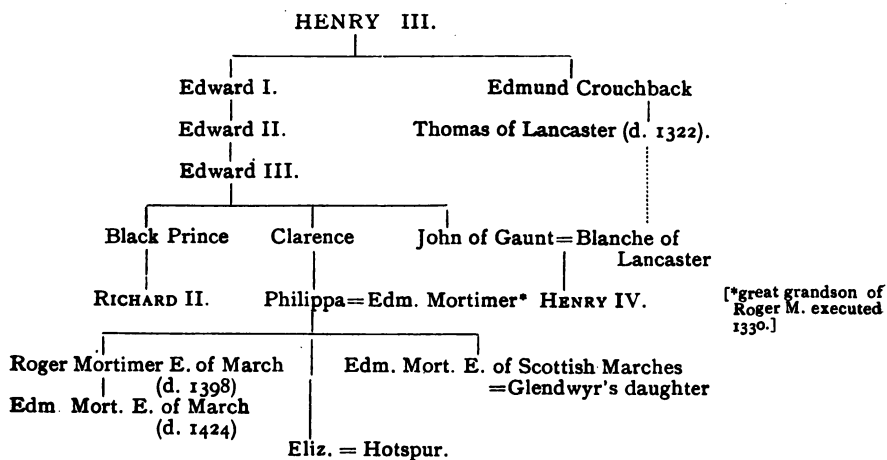
3.—As a reformer of mis-government.

He would have added a fourth claim—as a conqueror—save for the dissuasion of eminent men.

Through his mother Blanche of Lancaster he could trace ^{1. Descent.} back his descent to Edmund Crouchback, the second son, or as some pretended, the first son, of Henry III. His second assertion was due to a religious trait in his character which ^{2. Divine favour.} found fuller expression in his grandson Henry VI. It is a claim often favoured by Might to cover the absence of Right. His third plea was the popular view of the latter end of ^{3. Need of reform.} Richard's reign.

His real title was his election. His seizure of the crown ^{Real title = Parliamentary.} was revolutionary, but became legal by the agreement of Parliament. Though hereditary succession had been the unwritten law for two centuries, yet now England returned to the ancient custom of choosing for its ruler the ablest man of the royal house (see p. 19, 38).

For there were other claimants whose right of succession ^{Other Claimants.} was indisputable. The former king at Henry's accession was still alive, though a prisoner. This led to plots, and even after Richard's death Henry had to be constantly on the guard against pretended belief in his existence. But there was a far more serious rival in Edmund, earl of March, who was descended ^{1. Richard II.} from the arch-plotter of Edward II.'s reign. His grandmother had been the daughter of the duke of Clarence, Edward III.'s second son, whilst Henry IV.'s father was the third son. ^{2. Edmund Mortimer}



This Edmund was only six years old at this time. But his hereditary right was unquestionable and his father had been the recognised heir to the throne. In fact his claim was too sound for legal consideration, whilst his power was too weak from a practical point of view. His accession would doubtless

have hastened the Wars of the Roses by fifty years. It is noticeable that the opponents of Henry IV. invariably put forward the plea of misgovernment for their revolts even when they urged the title of Mortimer to the Crown.

11. The Settlement
of the Lancastrian
Dynasty.

a. Causes of
Difficulty.

The existence of such claimants naturally added to the new king's difficulties. Being a party leader, he found that his supporters expected more than he cared to grant. They over-rated their claims; whilst the king under-estimated the value of their support. At first Henry had only to face the disappointed followers of the late king. Then gradually his friends became foes. The warmest adherents of his cause changed their note and spoke of him, as Shakespeare says, as *This ingrate and canker'd Bolingbroke*. Henry tried to find a settlement by balancing friends and foes. The clergy, the Parliament, the nobility, were won over to his side by concessions which weakened the royal prerogative, though they strengthened the new dynasty.

b. Rebellions:
1. 1400 Rutland and
Kent due to dis-
contentment.
(Stubbs ii. 26.)

Early in the year 1400 a serious rebellion broke out fostered by adherents of Richard, the earls of Rutland and Kent, and Salisbury who had been degraded from the rank of duke. They hoped to seize the King on Twelfth Night and to restore Richard. But without national support, and probably betrayed by one of their colleagues, the whole conspiracy miserably failed. The ringleaders were put to death: their unhappy master mysteriously died.

2. Northumberland's
three Rebellions,
due to disappoint-
ment.

(1.) with Hotspur,
Douglas and Glen-
dwyr.)

(cf. Shakespeare's
two parts of Henry
IV.)

With Richard's death, conspirators had to find another claimant to give rebellion a legal excuse. They found him in Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who in the next three rebellions figured as the proposed king.

The most serious plot of these, in all of which Northumberland shared, broke out in 1403. Its immediate cause was a display of force by Henry in Scotland. There had been a quarrel between two great Scottish lords, one of whom was an Earl of March, uncle to the young Mortimer who was now in Henry's charge. This Scottish feud brought the elder Mortimer over the border to seek help against the Douglas, whose lands were harried. To prevent an invasion of England, and to impress Robert III., Henry prepared a force with which he entered Scotland. Edinburgh was reached without opposition, but the Scots adopted a policy of "masterly inactivity" which forced Henry to retire. His absence from England had been utilised by the Welsh to make a real attempt to throw off the English sovereignty. They had a capable leader in Owen Glendwyr, a gentleman of considerable property and far-reaching influence. Educated in London he had attracted the notice of Richard II. On the latter's death he had retired home. There he found that his estates had been encroached on by the Earl of Ruthin. When he could obtain no redress

a. The Douglas.

b. Welsh under
Glendwyr.

Character of
Glendwyr.

in the English Courts he appealed to arms. His success was striking, and urged him to a more ambitious move. He would be Prince of Wales and free his country from her English thralldom.

He was well-fitted for the task. An orator of no mean power, he easily touched the warm Celtic enthusiasm of his fellow-countrymen; by tactics which suited the physical features of the locality, he defied the cumbrous English infantry; by a reputation for supernatural knowledge he impressed superstitious minds in an age readily given to such fancies. (cf. *Henry IV. pt. i. iii. 1.*)

Under a leader like this the Welsh rising assumed serious proportions. Herefordshire was invaded and Mortimer (the elder) taken prisoner. Retaliation was necessary, but the King refused to ransom Mortimer, either through fear of his pretensions to the throne or through knowledge of some act of treason.

By this Henry mortally offended the great house of Northumberland who had been mainly responsible for his successful usurpation. This family was the powerful ruler of the north of England and to it fell the duty of guarding the Northern Border. In those days that part of England, owing to the ceaseless raids, was a wild untamed district. The lord of it was necessarily entrusted with vast power; he always had a large following who recognised no other master. Henry Percy, eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland—better known as Hotspur—was the daring leader of these. He was gallant and headstrong, imbued with a rough chivalry which made him popular and famous. He was a capable leader, but whether he was the ideal cavalier of that age there is no historical evidence to show. Northumberland and Hotspur were dangerous friends and still more dangerous enemies. To the cunning of the father was added the daring of the son, and it was these two whom Henry had now affronted. For Hotspur had married Mortimer's sister and demanded his brother-in-law's ransom; whilst Henry demanded the surrender to him of the Douglas whom Hotspur had lately captured at Homildon Hill. Neither was willing to give way. Moreover the Percies, who had doubtless hoped to be "the power behind the throne," had been rudely disappointed by the firmness of the new king. Their services had not really been overlooked since titles and offices had been showered on them, but no adequate supplies had been sent them in their arduous undertakings, for the government had been almost paralysed for want of money. a. The Percies. (Stubbs *iii.* 39.)

(Henry IV. pt. i. 1. 3.)

i. *Course of Rebellion*

a. Union of The Douglas, Glendwyr and Percies.

(1402)

Percy, converting the Douglas from a prisoner to an ally, making an alliance with Owen Glendwyr, and supported by Mortimer (who had married Glendwyr's daughter) and the

Earl of Worcester, quickly raised an army of 14,000 men. The rumour that Richard lived was revived. The badges of the Dragon, Lion, and Wolf, which were the heraldic designs of Glendwyr, Percy, and Mortimer, seemed to fulfil an ancient prophecy of Merlin. Henry to avoid disaster was forced to act at once. Mustering an army, with unexpected energy he intercepted the Percies on the borders of Wales where they had hoped to form a junction with the Welsh. The Severn was flooded and impassable. The delay was fatal to their plans. Measures of peace were proposed by the King but scouted by Hotspur. The armies engaged near Shrewsbury. The battle was brief and sanguinary. Hotspur and Douglas with a chosen body of knights pierced the royal forces. More than once the King's person was in jeopardy, but eventually his assailants were driven back. During their retirement Hotspur was slain by an unknown hand; Worcester and the Douglas were captured and the former executed. The old Earl of Northumberland, who had been unable through an illness, real or pretended, to join his son, was only found guilty by his peers of "trespass," not treason, and was pledged to keep the peace. The Welsh remained unsettled for the rest of the reign, but lacking support from Scotland or France were never again really dangerous.

b, Battle of Shrewsbury, 1403.

2.) Northumberland with Scrope, 1405. (*Stubbs iii. 51.*)

"Redress of Grievances."

Shipton Moor 1405.

(Capes 159)

But Henry had only scotched the snake, not killed it. He was not as yet strong enough to restrain his more powerful subjects, and Northumberland seemed determined to prove that trespass was really treason. The country was suffering from over-taxation, harassed by the Welsh war, and by the ill-concealed quarrels of great nobles. Mowbray (son of Norfolk, p. 85), Scrope (Archbishop of York), and Northumberland, rose in arms. They justified their action by a document which set forth constitutional, political, and social grievances so as to appeal to all parties. It is this declaration which makes it hard to decide whither Northumberland's desire for revenge or Scrope's desire for reform was the real cause of the rising. Probably the resources of the former were essential to the hopes of the latter, and if their end had been gained the result would have seen a struggle between the victorious allies. But the rising was a failure. The armies met at Shipton Moor. A conference bereft the malcontents of their troops and left them prisoners at the King's mercy. Northumberland escaped, an avowed traitor, whilst the other ringleaders suffered on the scaffold. In the execution of Scrope Henry was guilty of a most unwise fault. His usual political foresight seemed to fail him. For the fact that his victim was not only of a high and influential northern family, putting forward a definite plea for reform, but also one of the highest dignitaries of the

Church, should have stayed his hand. The tomb of the Prelate rivalled that of Becket as the shrine of a martyr, whilst his judge lost the support of many who could find little justification for his deed.

Three years later Northumberland made a last desperate attempt. Passing from Wales to Yorkshire he raised the standard of rebellion with Lord Bardolph. But it was his last effort. His troops failed before those of the shire at Bramham Moor. The arch-conspirator died fighting to the last : Henry's bitterest foe had made his last throw and lost, and he found no successor. There were no more rebellions.

(3.) Northumberland's last rising, 1408.
(Stubbs iii. 64.)
Bramham Moor 140

2. HENRY'S POLICY.

During all these years of rebellions Henry was endeavouring to make allies both at home and abroad in order to secure the continuance of his dynasty. If opposition came from the Baronage, he could rely at least on the Clergy. If the "caterpillars of the Commonwealth," baulked of their prey, turned against him, he could rely with the more certainty on the Parliament. Yet concessions had to be made to win over these : concessions which sapped the royal prerogative and gave power into hands which either were unpopular or ignorant as yet how to use it. This inevitable growth of Parliament in privilege and power, which for the first time placed the sovereign and his counsellors on the same level, has been called "the Lancastrian Experiment" (the "Experiment" namely, of Constitutional Government) and its failure was really due to the fact that it came before the country was ready for it. But it gave security to the throne of the three Henries.

The last King, Richard II., had alienated all classes, and few were more bitter against him than the Clergy. It was to this powerful body that Henry first made overtures.

Archbishop Arundel had been disgraced in Richard's reign and had seen another supplant him. He came back with Henry as the champion of orthodoxy. Without opposition he resumed his former office and crowned Henry. The new king, both as a good son of the Church and as grateful for the help of the Clergy, was bound to help them. And to reasons of religion and gratitude was added that of politics. The late king had not been a favourite of the Clergy at large. His liberal mind had welcomed the Lollards. In fact in Richard's reign Lollards were so common that the Court, Parliament, and the country at large, had become filled with their views on Church reform.

Ecclesiastical.

(Stubbs iii. 63.)

a, Repression of Lollards, who, from Church Reformers
(Wakeman, 152.
Trench, ch. 22.
Capes 157, 179.)

But Church reform is a dangerous plea. It is not the work of a year or of a reign. The worldly man welcomes it as striking a blow at Religion ; the self-seeker and avaricious

had become political
opponents
with dangerous
social demands.

supports it as likely to give him a large portion of Church revenues. This explains how it was that the worldly and self-seeking aristocracy, with the immoral John of Gaunt at their head, were found as supporters of the Lollards. Church spoliation had been the cry of Richard's Parliament; it was echoed in Henry's reign, and with less excuse. In the former reign it may have been originated by men who really believed that the Church's wealth was the Church's undoing. But in Henry IV.'s reign it was simply the partizan programme of a political party. Zeal for religious reform had developed into demands for social revolution, and Henry's loyalty to the Church made the Lollards champions of Richard. It is therefore not difficult to see how it was that Henry was forced to proceed against them. The Clergy on the other hand, under Arundel's leadership, waited wisely until they saw Henry must yield to them. They granted no supplies and gave no counsel. At last, when the new King, whose resources were crippled, turned for relief to them, they had their answer ready. They demanded the suppression of Lollardry, and Henry, both from political and religious motives, agreed.

1401.
De heretico com-
burendo, 1401.

(Stubbs iii. 33.)

Thus was the Act "de heretico comburendo" passed, and for the first time the laws of England forced a man to the extreme penalty for his religious opinions. If the ecclesiastical court found a man guilty of heresy, he was to be handed over to the secular power and put to death. It was the exact reverse to the Revolution of 1688, when William III. to reward his Whig supporters granted a large measure of toleration. This Act definitely assured the allegiance of the Clergy, confirmed the orthodoxy of Henry, and dealt a crushing blow against enemies of the Church and the new dynasty.

The Act was immediately put into force and one, William Chatrys (or Sawtre) a priest, suffered almost before the new motion had become law.

b, The Crusades.

But Henry IV. proved in other ways that his religion was somewhat more real than that of his father. He had an earnest desire to help in the struggle of the Crusaders, a wish quickened by a visit from the Emperor of the East, whose capital, Constantinople, was threatened by the Turks. In fact Shakespeare, who brings out wonderfully the real characters of the chief men of this period, makes a special point of this :

(cf. Pref. to *Lanc.*
and *York*.)

(Henry IV. pt. i. 1. 1.)

*As far as to the sepulchre of Christ,
Whose soldier now, under Whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engag'd to fight,
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy,
To chase these pagans, in those holy fields,*

c, The Great Schism

The new king also played some part in the attempts to heal the "Great Schism." At this time two Popes claimed

power. One had been elected at Rome, whilst the other, a French nominee, held his court at Avignon. England and northern Europe followed the former, Urban VI.; the Latin nations and Scotland supported the latter, Clement VII. For many years this dual supremacy continued, but in 1406 there seemed to be a possibility of settlement. A new Pope, Gregory XII., was elected at Rome on the condition that both he and his rivals should resign and allow another to be chosen. But he refused to fulfil his promise, and Henry was invited to assist at the Council of Pisa where Alexander V. was chosen Pope. (Poole's *Wycliffe*, ch. 9, 10, 12.)

Henry IV.'s reign saw a great advance in the powers of Parliament. In fact both he and his descendants ruled as constitutional Kings. Various causes combined to bring this about. (a) Richard II. had failed in his attempt at absolutism and the experiment was not likely to be repeated. (b) Parliament had deposed him: Parliament had accepted Henry. Parliament therefore started with immense advantages which it did not fail to turn to solid profit. During the earlier portion of the reign, when (c) rebellions were rife, and during the latter, when (d) Henry's health made him weak, Parliament pressed its claims. The Commons determined to show that "the king existed for the sake of the kingdom, not the kingdom for the sake of the king."

Yet too much stress must not be laid upon this progress of Parliamentary power. The privileges which were won were often only partially granted and were seldom secured. The Yorkists found no difficulty in evading them: under them the Sessions of Parliament were held at long intervals and then only insignificant business was transacted. In the 25 years of Yorkist rule only 7 Parliaments were held, and these mostly met only to be prorogued. But the privileges obtained under the Lancastrians were not destroyed, and remained as precedents for later days.

In 1406 Parliament insisted on the appointment of a Council of Reform. At the end of the same session they started the custom of auditing Public Accounts, which afterwards became the general rule. In 1407 they asserted the right that Money Grants should always originate in the House of Commons.

There was also a definite attempt to bring about unanimity between the Executive and the Legislative bodies. Nowadays the Executive (the "Cabinet" as it is called) represents the majority in the Commons and is therefore sure to act in conformity with their wishes. But in the 15th Century and for long afterwards the Executive was the Royal Council, appointed by the King without reference to Parliament and often very distasteful to it. It frequently altered or withdrew laws passed by Parliament. It had the power of issuing Ordinances which had all the effect of laws. It helped the King to govern

II. Constitutional.
'The Lancastrian Experiment'

Contrasted with Yorkist unconstitutional rule.

a, C. of Reform 1406.

b, Financial Rights.

c, Royal Council.

during the long intervals when no Parliament was sitting. It often acted as a Court of Justice. It was responsible to the King alone. Under such circumstances it is no wonder there frequently was friction between this body (which nominally carried out the laws), and the Parliament (which made the laws). In the reign of Henry IV. Parliament made several attempts to influence the appointment of members of the Council, and succeeded in doing so in the years 1404, 1406, and 1410.

d, The 'Unlearned Parliament,' 1404.

(Stubbs iii. 47, 400.)

The Parliaments which met in this reign were not remarkable for any particular incident. They were very frequent and made great progress in the work set before them. In 1404 the "Unlearned Parliament" was summoned. It was so called because the king, following a precedent of Edward III., allowed no lawyers to sit in it, under the plea that they took advantage of their position to transact their own legal business and neglected the proper business of Parliament. It made itself famous by an attack on Church lands and endowments which was foiled by a spirited counter-attack by the Clergy.

e, Parliamentary Privileges.

i. Freedom from Arrest.

(Taswell Langmead 328-29.)

Cheddar's Case, 1403

ii. Freedom of Speech, 1400.

(Taswell Langmead 323-24.)

In this reign the valuable Parliamentary privileges of Freedom from Arrest and Freedom of Deliberation were secured. Though the King refused to have the former embodied in a Statute breaches of it were severely punished, the privilege even extending to a member's servant.

Freedom of Speech had existed from very early times, and now the imprisonment of a member in Richard II.'s reign was formally reversed. The right was confirmed in 1400, when the King promised not to notice any deliberations which were taking place in the House.

III. Foreign Affairs.

1. Scotland.

Capture of James.

Henry IV. in the latter part of his reign was fortunately untroubled by foreign politics. After the death of Northumberland, Scotland for a time was quiet. The king, Robert III., was weak and incapable. His heir had already mysteriously died under the care of the Regent, the Duke of Albany. To avoid a similar fate for his younger son, James, Robert determined to send him to France. He was captured on his passage by the English, who thenceforward had a hostage for Scotland's good behaviour. The misfortune killed the old king, and as Albany did not desire James' return nor did Henry wish to part with him, the young king remained at the English Court and Albany governed Scotland.

2. France.

France was divided by internal dissensions. The King, Charles VI., was insane, and the government was seized by his brother, the Duke of Orleans. But his personal character made him unpopular amongst the people, and he aroused the jealousy of the powerful Duke of Burgundy who ruled in northern France. The bitterness of the quarrel was

increased by the murder of Orleans at Burgundy's instigation after a false reconciliation. The son of Orleans continued the feud, and France was divided into two hostile parties. Charles VI., under the influence of his son, threw in his lot with the Burgundians; Orleans on the other hand strengthened his party by a marriage with the powerful house of Armagnac. From thenceforth the Orleanists were known as Armagnacs. Henry kept France divided, and therefore weak, by helping first one side and then the other. The Armagnacs were defeated at S. Cloud by the help of English arms, but soon afterwards England opposed the Burgundians.

By skilful political marriages Henry sought his own recognition as King and the advancement of England. He married Joan of Brittany as his second wife. His daughters were wedded to Lewis of Bavaria and the King of Denmark. Yet peace abroad saw only dissensions at home. The King's illness, which rendered him incapable of playing a prominent part in the Council, opened the way to Court parties. The Beauforts, an illegitimate line from John of Gaunt, under the leadership of the Prince of Wales were generally predominant. Then during the last year of Henry IV.'s reign Arundel and Thomas of Clarence obtained power. It was but another stage of the family feuds, which were to end so bloodily in the Wars of the Roses.

On March 20th, 1413, Henry IV. died. His claim to greatness lies in the fact that in spite of continual difficulties he securely founded his dynasty. Moreover he claimed the throne on constitutional grounds and he justified his claim by ruling as a constitutional King.

In his personal character there is little to admire. The popular and resourceful Bolingbroke became moody and irresolute, and suspicious even of his own son. Perhaps his character was soured, in his early years of difficulties, by feeling that he had taken upon himself a task greater than he could perform. His continual ill-health added to his unpopularity as well as to his difficulties of governing, and he left the country with an empty exchequer and in social disorder.

He was definitely religious, and his longing to join in the Crusades was something more than a political expedient: it was his life's dream. But though preparations were always being made, the call of duty at home ever prevented his departure.

3. Marriage alliances.

IV. Closing years.
1. Dissensions in Council.

2. Henry's character and work.
(Stubbs iii. 73.)

(Stubbs iii. 277.)

HENRY V. 1413—1422.

I. THE NEW KING.

- a. Shakespeare's 'Prince Hal'
- b. The Historical Prince
- c. Points in his character.
 - 1. His Statesmanship
 - 2. His Religious Policy
 - a. Lollards—Oldcastle. The Lollard Rising 1413—S. Giles's Fields
 - b. Alien Priors
 - c. Councils of Constance and Basle 1414—1418
 - 3. His Personal Religion
 - 4. His Soldiership.

2. THE WAR WITH FRANCE.

- i. *Causes*
 - 1. The state of France
 - 2. Traditional Policy
 - 3. Political motives
 - 4. Commercial Reasons
 - 5. Personal Reasons
 - 6. Ecclesiastical Reasons
- ii. *Henry's Claim*
- iii. *Course of the War*
 - 1. Agincourt Campaign 1415
 - a. The Southampton Plot
 - b. Siege of Harfleur
 - c. The "Military Parade"
 - d. Battle of Agincourt 1415
 - 2. Second Campaign—Normandy 1417—19
 - a. Naval Victory
 - b. Successes in Normandy
 - c. The "Foul Raid" of the Scots
 - d. Caen—Rouen 1419
 - e. Conquest and Organisation of Normandy
 - 3. Treaty of Troyes 1420
 - a. Murder of Burgundy 1419
 - b. Burgundians join Henry
 - c. Treaty of Troyes
 - 4. The Third Campaign 1421
 - a. Disaster at Beaugé
 - b. Henry's Invasion
 - c. Conquest of North of Loire
 - d. Death of Henry 1422

I. THE NEW KING.

The new king who ascended the throne on 20th March, 1413 has been handed down to posterity as one of the most heroic figures in history. His reign was brilliant though brief. But his wonderful success is not his only claim to fame. The great English dramatist unquestionably made him his hero.

(Stubbs iii. 74-77.)

The legendary tales of Henry's wildness received confirmation when later generations read and saw enacted the madcap folly of the Boar's Head Tavern. But though it is pleasant to dwell on the old stories of Gadshill robberies, of imprisonment by Gascoigne, and other youthful follies, they must be regarded chiefly as fiction. No doubt the young Prince was guilty of escapades, but history cannot vouch for them as a matter of fact. His early life, for boys in those days were men, was spent in rough camp-life on the Welsh or Scottish borders, of which he was Warden, whilst he also occupied an important position in the Royal Council. It is improbable that any such sudden transformation of character took place as is asserted by old chroniclers.

The new king's first steps were to put into power those ministers who had supported him in the latter years of his father's reign. Archbishop Arundel was replaced by Beaufort, who now became chief minister as Chancellor. He was a careful far-sighted statesman, whose caution was an excellent foil to the seeming recklessness of the young king. The Earl of Arundel took Lord Scrope's place, whilst Gascoigne, who had served his country for many years, was allowed to retire.

The next proceeding was to win over all enemies. Henry's position was so strong that he could afford to do this. Richard II.'s body was removed from Langley and buried with great state in Westminster. Henry Percy was restored to his marches in the north. The house of Mowbray received back the post of Earl Marshall; young Mortimer was given a place at Court and proved himself a devoted adherent of the new king; whilst James of Scotland, though a prisoner, was held an honoured guest. Such acts were wise and statesmanlike, and showed the liberal spirit of the new king.

But though willing to conciliate all foes to his throne, he was forced both by conscientious and political opinions to forcibly repress the Lollards. In spite of the Act of the last reign, this body had grown strong and influential mainly through causes more political than religious. The bitterness of persecution had been lessened by the protection which was given to them by Court officials and nobles of high places. The most influential of these was Sir John Oldcastle, a capable soldier and a personal friend of the King. It was essential to silence him before attacking those whom he protected, for he not only sheltered them in his castle but also furthered in every possible way the spreading of Lollard ideas and doctrine. Archbishop Arundel, now relieved of his ministerial responsibility, gave himself up to the task. The religious fervour of Henry was far more liberal than was customary in that age. Still he was a true son of the Church and would not foster heresy in any form. With the King's permission, Oldcastle was arrested

a. Shakespeare's
"Prince Hal."

(Henry iv. Pt. ii.
ll. 4.)

b. The historical
Prince.

c. Points in his
character.

i. His statesman-
ship.

2. His religious
policy.

a. Lollards.
cf. p. 94.

Oldcastle.
(Stubbs *iss.* 81.)

(Capes 166-169.)

Lollard Rising, 1413.

(Church's *Henry V.*
ch. xi.)

S. Giles' Fields
1413.

and tried. He was condemned to death but escaped. His escape was the signal for a general rising which, to the government of the time, seemed more political than religious, for its aims were to destroy the King and the royal family; whilst the old-time rumours of Richard's appearance in Scotland were again revived. Henry took immediate steps to suppress the general panic. Foiling an attempt to capture him at Eltham he came up to London. A gathering of Lollards was to take place at S. Giles' Fields, but the King shut the gates of London and thus prevented a union between the country and town rebels. The former were scattered by the royal troops and the rebellion was at an end. Oldcastle again escaped and for some time roamed over the country. The later disturbances in Scotland and Wales were attributed to him; finally he was captured and cruelly tortured to death in 1417.

b, Alien Priors.

(Capes 177, 299.)

But though Henry prided himself on his orthodoxy, he in no way furthered the claims of the Papacy in this country. The lands of alien priories were confiscated and disallowed. This was done in 1414 on a petition of the Commons, and doubtless did much to prevent further suggestions of English Church spoliation.

c, Councils of Con-
stance and Basle.
1414—1418.

(*Trench* 300.)

(Capes 166-168.)

(Capes 175, 197.)

Also the King was an important factor in Christendom at large. It was due partly to his efforts that the Great Schism was healed. The Council of Constance, though rendered infamous by the treacherous burning of Huss, yet brought about a settlement. The three Popes who existed at this time were forced to resign, whilst a new Pope—Martin V.—proposed by the Bishop of London, was chosen by the Council. It is probable too that Henry had some share in persuading the Council of Basle of the uselessness of persecution. The deaths of Huss and Jerome of Prague had gone far to strengthen the opponents of the Church. Conciliation, which practically broke the power of the disaffected sects, was the keynote of this latter council's policy.

3. Personal Religion.

All that Henry did to further the interests of religion proceeded from a conscientious heart. His life was permeated by his religion. His thankfulness to his God after the victory of Agincourt, and the solemn requiem service held in London amid the triumph of his return, point to this. His feeling that he was God's servant—very like that of Cromwell—caused him to embrace the opportunity of restoring order and of righting wrong in France, whilst his endeavours to unite the countries of France and England proceeded in part at any rate from a great desire to drive back the Turks and reclaim the city of Jerusalem. With his dying breath he regretted he had been unable to accomplish this.

4. His soldiiership.

Doubtless he might have been successful, for he was easily the first warrior of his time. His preparations for the defence

of the nation during his absence in France were sound and sure. He recognised the supreme importance of naval defence. Hitherto private ventures and the patriotism of merchants had, as a rule, kept the Channel free from pirates. Now by the royal authority a fleet for home defence was built, chiefly of large ships after the Genoese style. But Henry V. was the only Lancastrian who definitely attempted a naval reform. Later, under his son, the incapacity of the fleet caused the Flemish to advise the English to choose a sheep rather than a ship for their emblem !

As a Commander-in-Chief he showed equal skill. The payment of his troops was high and thus men were willing to follow him under difficulties. His cannon were the best that could be obtained. Notice should also be taken of the first definite arrangement for a Medical Corps. Surgeons and doctors often attended on the chief commanders, but Henry gave orders and all necessary facilities to Nicolas Colnet and a band of surgeons for the use of the army at large.

As a leader in the field Henry possessed all those qualities which endear a general to his followers. Their hardships, their troubles, were his. His daring, amounting almost to rashness, caused his men to face any odds. His cheerfulness, even in great danger, imparted the necessary spirit to his troops.

*A largess universal, like the sun,
His liberal eye doth give to everyone,
Thawing cold fear, that, mean and gentle, all
Behold, as may unworthiness define,
A little touch of Harry in the night.*

(Henry V. Prologue
to Act iv.)

He had that very necessary qualification of a leader, a quickness of eye which seizes the weak spot in an enemy's formation or the strong points of a good position. With such a warlike king, war was inevitable.

2. THE WAR WITH FRANCE.

The condition of France was the opportunity of its enemy. (a) The madness of the King, Charles V., and (b) the rivalry between Orleanists and Armagnacs, placed the kingdom entirely at the mercy of an invading force. In addition, (c) a successful revolution had taken place in Paris which placed the city at the mercy of the lowest classes—called Cabochians. This was crushed after a time by the Princes of the Blood, headed by Orleans. The King then favoured him, and Burgundy withdrew to Flanders. Both sides appealed to Henry, who, for a while, played with them, until he put forward his own claim.

^{1. Causes.}
^{1. State of France.}

(Church's Henry V.
ch. vi.)

2. **Traditional policy** Richard II.'s peaceful nature and Henry IV.'s poverty had put a temporary stop to the 100 years War. But the traditional policy of hostility to France remained. The warlike spirit of the great nobles made a foreign war indispensable to peace at home. The internal troubles of the last two reigns had given ample proof of this. The strain of royal blood which many of the nobles shared, and their vast possessions, made them too equal to the crown for its safety, and too equal amongst themselves for peace. Henry recognised this fact and determined to give an outlet for their ambitions. They readily followed so capable a leader as he was.
3. **Political Motives.** But the revival of the 100 years war was not only part of an hereditary policy and necessary for internal peace : it was also necessary to English trade. The weakness of the English Navy had laid trade open to the piratical attacks of Norman privateers. A war which helped to establish trade on a secure footing and protect the vessels of the traders, satisfied popular opinion and enabled Henry to rely on universal support.
4. **Commercial.**
5. **Personal.** But perhaps the most important factor was Henry's own inclination. He was a soldier with all a soldier's instincts. He had inherited the warlike spirit of the Plantagenets, and this could only find scope in France. The old-time dream of an Anglo-French Empire appealed to his ambition and bade him win back again former possessions. He had, moreover, a perfect faith in his own claim, unwarrantable though it seems to modern ideas.
6. **Ecclesiastical.** The desire for war was doubtless strengthened by the attitude of the Clergy. Their wealth had attracted notice and more than one attempt had been made to despoil it. A foreign war would draw men's attention away. Shakespeare makes this factor play a most important part in the outbreak of the war. Certainly the clergy under the direction of Chichele supported the suggestion with generous grants, and All Souls' College, at Oxford, was afterwards built by Archbishop Chichele in memory of those who died in the war.
 (Henry v. i. 1.)
 (Capes 162, 176.)
- II. **Henry's claim.** However that may be, Henry in 1414 laid a definite claim to the French Crown, bidding Charles resign it or give up all the possessions ceded to England at the Peace of Bretigny in Edward III.'s reign. These included the Duchies of Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Poitou, Guienne and Gascony. If Edward III.'s claim was questionable, Henry V.'s was hopelessly untenable. The former had urged that if the Salic Law excluded females from the throne it did not exclude their male descendants. Allowing this to be true, Henry V. could scarcely urge the same claim as he was not the direct heir to his grandfather's throne.
- III. **Course of War.** The refusal of France to entertain his claim at once led to a

declaration of war. Preparations were hurried on and overtures made to secure an alliance with Burgundy. On the eve of departure from Southampton, a plot on the King's life was discovered. The Earl of Cambridge had married the Earl of March's sister, and had conceived the idea of raising the standard of rebellion in favour of the true line. The marriage had united the two other lines from Edward III., Cambridge being the son of Edmund of York and his wife being descended from Lionel of Clarence. He was joined by Scrope, a nephew of the Archbishop who suffered in the preceding reign, and Lord Grey. The plot was found out, possibly by the connivance of March himself; the trial was brief and all three conspirators were executed. Though the plot was unimportant in itself, it forged another link in the family feud between the Houses of York and Lancaster.

1. *Agincourt Campaign.* 1415.

(cf. Table p. 115.)

a. The Southampton Plot.

On August 11th, Henry set sail from Southampton. His first endeavour was to reduce Harfleur, the fort at the entrance of the Seine, which gave an easy road to Paris, and the place which furnished most of the pirates who had endangered English shipping. The disembarkation at and investment of Harfleur was carried through without molestation. But the city was strongly fortified and well guarded, and the siege was difficult. Breaches were filled up as soon as they were made. Mines were met by counter-mines. The spirit of the besieged was as bold as it was successful. Meantime scarcity of provisions, and bad weather, wrought havoc in the English army. At least 2000 of all ranks perished. It seemed that the invasion was doomed to be a failure. A general attack was determined on, but the town came to terms. They agreed to surrender unless they were relieved in three days by the French King. On September 22nd, Henry was master of the town.

b. *Siege of Harfleur.*
(*Relch's Historical Atlas* pl. 15.
Gardiner's Atlas pl. 16.)

(*Henry V. ill. 1.*)
(*Church's Henry V.*
pp. 68—9.)

c. The "Military Parade."

The capture was important. Failure to relieve so valuable a position struck a blow at French prestige; but the loss of life on the English side had made Henry's position precarious. He determined to try to redeem his credit. His true policy would have been to secure Normandy as a base for the conquest of France, but the fewness of his troops, and their disheartenment, made some dashing feat of arms essential. He determined to make "a military parade" through northern France to Calais. It was rash, but almost necessary. A return to England for supplies would have been a confession of failure and might have cost him his throne.

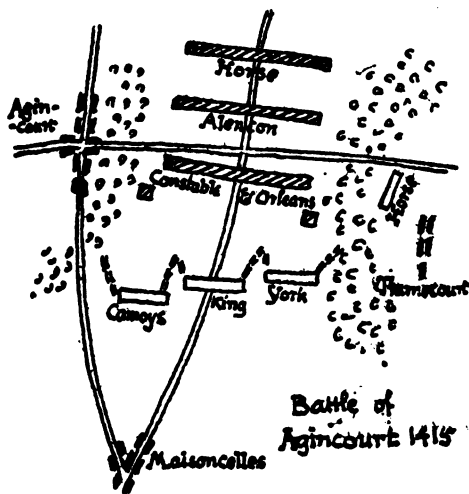
Leaving his cannon, sick, wounded, and even, it is said, those whose hearts failed them, he set out on his march with about 5,900 men. He began to go along the coast, passing Gonderville, Fécamp, and Tréport on his way. The French wisely harassed him along his line of march. At the Somme he was

checked, for the enemy strongly held the north bank, so a crossing near Blanchetaque was impossible. But by marching down the south bank, he found a ford at Béthancourt momentarily unguarded. His troops were quickly transported in spite of a futile and delayed attack by the French. Thence Henry went northwards, making for Calais, whilst the French, neglecting their true policy, lost touch with him. The armies however met near Agincourt, where the French were drawn up in strong force across his route to Calais. A battle was unavoidable.

d, Agincourt, Oct.
25th, 1415.

(Church's *Henry V.*
ch. ix. Green 268;
Barnard 74-5.)

The road to Calais lay between two woods which afforded protection to the English flanks. Henry made the best of his small force. It was drawn up in a long line. Three bodies of dismounted men-at-arms were separated, and guarded on their flanks, by archers in harrow-shaped formation. Bowmen were also placed in the thickets on either side, whilst a small force of cavalry advanced under cover beyond the left flank of the enemy. The English had an admirable position for a small force. The French threw away all the advantage of their numbers, for they were at least six to one. They were drawn up in three long lines. The two forces were but three bow-



(*Henry V.* iv. 1.)

shots apart. So certain were the French of victory that they spent the eve of the battle in revelry, and "bidding one another go to hazard for the prisoners." The English, on the other hand, spent the night in quiet, and in making their peace with God. At an early hour both forces were afoot. On the English side the King in person commanded the centre, the Duke of York the right (which was slightly advanced), and

lord Camoys the left. The three divisions of the French troops were respectively led by the Constable, Orleans, and (Henry V. iv. 3—7.) the Duc d'Alencon.

There was probably some endeavour to mediate, but it failed. Then came a pause. The French waited for the English to break their strength by attacking. At last the English advanced, yet very slowly. The patience of the chivalry of France gave way and the first line charged. The movement was fatal. The English advance was but a feint, and the line stood firm, awaiting the shock. The archers, having stuck into the ground their iron-shod stakes to form a palisade, fired into the mass. The crowded ranks of the French impeded their action, the clay soil, heavy from frequent rain, checked rapid advance. The attackers were at the mercy of the long-bow. They fought bravely, and by sheer weight of numbers shook the English line, but that was all. Their very numbers fought against them. The knights who fell were not able to rise quickly through the weight of their armour. D'Alencon tried to rally his men by a personal attack on Henry which was all but successful.

It was too late. The second line attempted to advance but was met by the same relentless hail of arrows, and now the archers shot from behind a bulwark of French corpses. An attack by the men-at-arms led by Henry, coupled with a charge by the cavalry on the flank, utterly routed the French. The third line made a gallant effort but it was useless.

The victory was marred by an untoward accident; the English had taken more prisoners in number than themselves and were still exposed to attacks from isolated bodies. Suddenly news was brought of a rear attack and Henry gave orders to kill all the prisoners. It was ruthlessly carried out, and then the alarm was found to be false. Once the victory was assured the victorious band led by their intrepid chief sang the *Te Deum* and *Non nobis*.

Over 9,000 French fell—of which number 1,000 were great leaders, including the Constable and d'Alencon, whilst there were over 1000 prisoners. On the English side the loss was comparatively small, possibly 1,600, though it included the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk. The political importance of the battle was not great. But it illustrated once again the inferiority of heavily armed men, unable either to advance or to retreat quickly, against troops more mobile though less strongly armed. Henry's name as a general was made. He had won a definite place as an arbiter in European politics whilst he became a "people's darling" in England. His name will be for ever associated with this battle, which vindicated his rashness and made him one of the world's captains.

Significance of the
Battle.

*And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered.*

From Agincourt the King made his way to Calais and from thence to England.

a. and Campaign—
Normandy. 1417.

(Church's *Henry V.*
ch. xiii.)

a, Naval Victory.

b, Successes in
Normandy.

c, * The Foul Raid "
of the Scots.

The great victory at Agincourt brought fresh allies to Henry. Sigismund, the Emperor, who came as an arbiter, remained as an ally and adviser. John of Burgundy concluded a treaty for Flanders, and then, allying himself with the Queen Regent against the Dauphin and Armagnacs, he plunged France once more into Civil War. Henry was not slow to grasp the opportunity. On July 23rd, 1417, a great force set out to conquer Normandy as a base for the conquest of France. The Channel had been safeguarded for the transport of troops by the complete overthrow of the French fleet by the Earl of Huntingdon. The defenders of Normandy hoped to check the English arms by stubborn defence of individual towns. But the divisions amongst the French prevented any help being sent, and the towns were captured one after another. Henry moreover had prepared especially for sieges; and by the admirable order in which he kept his army he won the respect of the inhabitants.

But the Scots in his absence, either instigated by the French or through the Regent Albany's desire to keep James out of the country, invaded England. The old saw was again exemplified:—

*"If that you will France win
Then with Scotland first begin."*

Roxburgh was besieged, but the combined forces of Bedford and Exeter forced the Scots to make a hasty retreat. They were followed and the south-eastern borders of Scotland were laid waste. This Scottish expedition, at once so fruitless and dishonourable, won for itself the name of the "Foul Raid."

d, Caen.

In France castles and walled towns fell an easy prey. The first real resistance was at Caen. The suburbs were seized, and when the walls had been weakened by cannon and mines Henry stormed the town. It capitulated and was strongly garrisoned by the English. Bayeux, Lisieux, Alencon and Cherbourg fell. It was then determined to attack Rouen. Its fall would mean the conquest of Normandy and would be a great blow to the prestige of the French King. The siege was desperate. Henry refused to risk a heavy loss of men, and determined to starve it out. Provisions soon failed in the town. All non-combatants were driven out and died of starvation between the lines of the besiegers and the walls. Repeated messages for relief were sent to the Duke of Burgundy, but all to no avail. Sallies were driven back. The famine reached a pitch which has seldom been passed. Meantime negotiations

Rouen. 1419.

were being carried on between the Dauphin and the King, but Henry's demands could not be granted. At last the despairing citizens determined to destroy the town and perish in the ruins. Then Henry relented as the town was too important to be lost. A heavy ransom was exacted from the citizens, and a few leaders, including Alan Blanchard, a great patriot, were executed. Measures were at once put in force for the governance of Normandy. The coinage, courts of justice, and the general administration, were readjusted in such a way as to win the respect of the conquered inhabitants.

e, Conquest and Organisation of Normandy. (Burrows 216.)

The advance of the English into Picardy and the Isle of France forced rival parties in France to unite. An endeavour was made to treat with Henry, and a personal interview was arranged. But the King remained obstinate, demanding all that he had formerly claimed, and, in addition, his new conquests the lordships of Anjou, Maine and Touraine. Such demands forced Burgundy and the Dauphin into a definite alliance. The union was short-lived. In an interview with the Dauphin the duke was brutally murdered. His son Philip at once went over to the English and pledged himself to secure English supremacy. The Dauphin was discredited, and Henry was master of France.

3. *Treaty of Troyes.*

a, Murder of Burgundy. 1419.
b, Burgundians join Henry.

All demands were acceded to by the French.

c, T. of Troyes. 1420. (Reich 506)

(i.) Henry was to be regent of France during Charles VI.'s life and to succeed him after his death.

(ii.) On Charles's death the two kingdoms were to be united under one king, but each was to preserve its own laws and institutions.

(iii.) Henry was to marry Katharine of France.

Henry had fulfilled his ambition. He had practically conquered France. He entered Paris as regent of the country and everything pointed to a continuance of prosperity.

In conjunction with Burgundy he secured his position by the capture of Sens, Montereau and Melun. Then Henry and Katharine returned to England.

He was not allowed to rest long. News came of a calamity to the English arms. The Duke of Clarence had been left in charge of France. A strong force of French and Scots under the Dauphin invaded Anjou. Clarence met them at Beaugé. Foolishly discarding the previous methods which had so often given Englishmen the victory, he led a confident charge. The Dauphin won his first victory, chiefly owing to the valour of his Scottish allies, and Clarence was killed. Such a blow called for immediate action. Taking with him James of Scotland, Henry set out at once for France, and soon changed the complexion of affairs. He endeavoured to bring the Dauphin to a decisive action but was unsuccessful. Beugency, Villeneuve, and Meaux, and all north of the Loire, after some

4. *The Third Campaign.* 1421.

a, disaster at Beaugé (Burrows 212.)

b, Henry's Invasion

c, Conquest of N. of Loire.

resistance fell into his hands. Hearing that Burgundy was threatened by the Dauphin on the Loire, an army was sent to help him but the enemy withdrew.

Henry could not accompany his forces in these later operations as he had fallen a victim to dysentery. His frame, exhausted by a hard life of continued activity, could make no resistance against the disease. On August 31st, 1422, he breathed his last at Vincennes, near Paris. Before his death he had endeavoured to provide for the safety of his kingdom. His son was but an infant, so the uncles, Bedford and Gloucester, were appointed Regents of France and England. The dying King laid great emphasis on the Burgundian alliance, and besought his brother of Gloucester to keep on friendly terms with this important ally.

d, Death of Henry.
1422.

With the death of Henry V. the central figure of the Lancastrian age passed away. It was not an age of great men or good men, but he was both great and good ; in fact his reign, set in such brilliant contrast to the gloom which both preceded and followed it, may be well described as " a little touch of Harry in the night." A brilliant soldier, a sound politician, a cultured scholar, a devout Churchman, he stands out to all time as a type of a great Englishman.

HENRY VI. 1422—1461.

I. THE CLOSING OF THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR.

- i. *The King's Counsellors*
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 2. Gloucester
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- ii. *The Continuance of the War*
 - a. English successes under Bedford
 1. Marriage alliances
 2. Victories of Crevant and Verneuil 1424
 - b. Change of affairs : weakness through domestic factions in England :
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 1. Siege of Orleans 1428 ; Battle of Herrings 1429
 2. Joan of Arc
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 - a. Treaty of Tours : Marriage of Henry VI. to Margaret of Anjou 1445
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 - a. His rivalry with York : i. Political ; ii. Dynastic ; iii. Personal
 - b. Cade's Rebellion 1450
 - c. Personal rivalry of Somerset and York
 - d. Loss of Normandy, Guienne, and Gascony
- iv. *Causes of English Decline in France*

2. THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

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 1. The French War
 - a. National Disappointment
 - b. Bad moral effects
 - c. Free Soldiery
 2. Social
 - a. Baronage (Livery and Maintenance)
 - b. The Clergy
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- ii. *Immediate events leading to outbreak of War*
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 - b. York made Protector 1454
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iii. THE FIRST ACT IN THE WARS OF THE ROSES

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3. Temporary Reconciliation 1458 followed by retaliation on Yorkists
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5. York claims the Crown—Compromise
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7. Margaret's march South—2nd Battle of S. Alban's 1461 (Lancastrian victory) ; Henry VI. re-taken
8. Edward of York
 - a. Battle of Mortimer's Cross 1461 (Yorkist victory)
 - b. Edward IV. crowned King
 - c. Battle of Towton 1461 (Yorkist victory)

I. THE CLOSING OF THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR.

1. The King's Counsellors.

The young king was but nine months old when called to the throne of England and France. His father's will had directed that Bedford should rule over France, and Gloucester over England, while Warwick should undertake the education of the king. The reign from beginning to end was the age of great and rival nobles. The King was a mere cypher both in boyhood and manhood. At the beginning of his reign, however, he was fortunate in possessing counsellors who were also patriots ; at the close he was but the tool of rival personal ambitions.

1. Bedford.

(*Stubbs iii. 97.*)

Bedford, the King's uncle, had many of the best characteristics of the Lancastrians. He had political foresight ; he was a careful statesman, a clever soldier, and above all a patriot. He worked for the king and country, sparing neither his strength nor wealth.

2. Gloucester.

Gloucester, on the other hand, was the evil genius of the family. His policy was self-aggrandisement ; his soldiership was rash ; his morality was questionable. He never realised how essential it was to do all that might establish a dynasty which was still on its trial. Yet withal he was clever and well-read, and the presentation of his books to Oxford University has perpetuated his name there in " Duke Humphrey's Library." He was suspected by the nobles, but, possibly for that reason, was popular among the people. Hence his mysterious death led to a popular re-action in his favour.

3. Beaufort.

(*Stubbs iii. 143.*)

Capes 162 ;

Burrows 216-22c.)

There was yet a third uncle who played an important part in this reign. Beaufort, as the representative of the illegitimate branch of the House of Lancaster, never failed to realise the importance of strengthening the dynasty. Though a cleric he is better known as a politician. Ambitious he was, but for his

house not for himself. A statesman of no mean power, he staved off the Civil War while he lived. His courage led him to oppose Gloucester and to uphold a peace policy in spite of its unpopularity. He had many faults, but they were small beside his whole-hearted devotion to the King.

The reign opened with a dispute over a constitutional point. 4. The Regency. Henry V. had appointed Gloucester regent of England. The Lords, suspecting his over-bearing and ambitious nature, found his claim to be untenable. Neither his close relationship to the young king nor the wish of the late monarch could make his position legal without the assent of Parliament. Bedford was appointed to be Protector of the State, the Church, and the King of England. In his absences in France Gloucester, with the help of a Council of 16, was to govern the kingdom. Regencies are inevitable with a hereditary monarchy. They are usually found during the infancy, illness, madness, or absence of the king. The principle was clearly laid down in 1422 that a regent could only be appointed by the estates of the realm.

Two months after Henry V.'s death, Charles of France passed away, so by the Treaty of Troyes the infant ruler of England became also ruler of France. But the Dauphin was practically supreme south of the Loire. Though Bedford called him "King of Bourges" in mockery, he knew he had no mean adversary. So he at once began to strengthen the Burgundian alliance by marriages. He himself married the duke's sister and by another alliance secured the co-operation of Brittany. This placed the coast-line of France in English hands. Meantime James of Scotland was liberated and returned to his country with an English bride.

Gloucester, selfish and short-sighted, soon after destroyed the harmony by an injudicious marriage with Jacqueline of Hainault who laid claim to part of Flanders. This began to loosen the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, whilst quarrels at home between Beaufort and Gloucester, about this marriage and other points, weakened the attacking forces.

However success as yet attended the English arms. Salisbury secured communication with Burgundy by the battle of Crevant, whilst Bedford by a brilliantly-fought action at Verneuil did the same for Brittany; he also drove back the French in confusion behind the Loire. The only flaw in the English success was the bickerings at home which recalled Bedford more than once to mediate between Beaufort and Gloucester. Once in 1425 their parties faced one another in Parliament for 10 days armed with clubs, and prevented all business.

In 1428 the English made a definite attempt to secure their position as masters of the north of France. Salisbury set about to reduce Orleans by starvation. Great towers were

II. The continuance of the War.

a. English successes under Bedford. 1423—1427.

I. Marriage alliances.

1423.

2. Victories of Crevant and Verneuil. 1424.

b. Change of affairs. Weakness through domestic factions in England.—Parl. of Bats or Bludgeons, 1425.

1. Siege of Orleans,
1428.
(Barnard 75—6.)
B. of Herrings, 1429.
erected round the town which should guard the gates and eventually command the walls. By a chance cannon-shot the English commander was killed. Still the siege went on. A desperate attempt was made to ambush a convoy to the besiegers, but the attackers were driven off by the brave and cautious tactics of Sir John Fastolf. Orleans seemed doomed when a new factor appeared on the French side which went far to win the day eventually for them. This was the appearance of Joan of Arc, as she is popularly called, a village maid of Domremi. She declared that by visions and holy voices she had been bidden to raise the siege of Orleans and crown Charles, the Dauphin, in Rheims. In spite of almost incredible difficulties, opposition, and disbelief, she convinced the Dauphin of her genuineness. As a last desperate resort she was entrusted with a command. Her advent raised the French soldiery from the depths of despair to the heights of patriotism. Animated by a new spirit they were ready to follow her anywhere. In despite of the English, who regarded her as a witch or worse, she revictualled Orleans. Entering the town with daring brilliancy, she encouraged the defenders to such an extent that many of the besiegers' towers fell into their hands, including the important one of Les Tournelles. Overstrained by the long siege and disheartened by the success of these sallies, the English withdrew, pursued by the victorious French.
2. Joan of Arc.
(Green 274.)
3. Siege of Orleans raised.
4. Capture of Suffolk and Talbot.
B. of Pataye
(Barnard 76.)
Misfortunes crowded thickly on the English arms. Suffolk was beaten and captured at Jargeau, whilst Talbot fell a captive to "the Maid of Orleans" at Pataye. Bedford, returning in haste from England, was unable to stem the tide of disaster. Roused by success, and urged by Joan of Arc, Charles began a triumphal march on Rheims, a task impossible a few months before. Well to the north of the Loire the French army marched—taking Chalons and Troyes—and at length Rheims was reached. Charles VII. was crowned King of France. Such a step was a bold defiance of the conqueror. It won for the new king the allegiance of all patriotic Frenchmen. Private quarrels were laid aside that all might unite and drive the invaders from their shores. The English supremacy was more than shaken and Joan of Arc had done her work. But she was not allowed to return home as she desired.
5. Charles VII. crowned at Rheims.
- c. Gradual loss of French possessions.
1. Minor English successes.
1431.
In spite of these successes, for a time the English more than held their ground. The Duke of Burgundy, whose doubtful friendship was strengthened by the cession of Champagne and La Bris, attacked Compiègne. Joan of Arc failed in an assault on Paris, whilst Charles VII. had been driven back to the Loire. Henry VI. was brought over to France for his coronation in order to counter-balance that of Charles VII. Owing to mistake or jealousy the Maid fell into Burgundian
- Capture and death of Joan of Arc, 1431.

hands during their siege of Compiègne. She was handed over to the English at Rouen. Religious fanaticism and personal hatred overbore all chivalrous feeling. A court of Frenchmen condemned her to be burnt as a witch, and she died with the Name of "Jesu" on her lips. She had, before her death, sounded the knell of the English supremacy in France. Her short life had filled her countrymen's hearts with that patriotism which was so dear to herself. She had saved France. Her victories had taught her soldiers no longer to fear their foes; her decisive action had given them an anointed King as a leader.

(Green 279.)

After this the war was languidly waged. The coronation of Henry had little effect. Burgundy was more than lukewarm. The English people were tired of the strain of a long war, and the quarrels between Beaufort and Gloucester became more vehement. The latter wished to extend his limited powers as Regent and was opposed by the former through fear of disaster for the war and for the Lancastrian dynasty. However, Beaufort's promotion to be Cardinal gave his enemy an opportunity to threaten him with *præmunire*, and it was only the Bishop's extreme moderation, his generous use of his wealth for the country, and his preference for national to papal claims in the Hussite crusade, which restored him to the country's confidence.

3. Party Quarrels in England.

(Stubbs iii. 123.)

(Capes 170-201.)

But these continual quarrels were not without effect on the course of the war. Bedford, suspecting the fidelity of Burgundy, endeavoured to bring about peace. It was urged by the Pope, and Bedford felt his health was failing. The French terms were moderate. Charles was to be recognised as King, whilst the English were to have full sovereignty over Normandy and Aquitaine. An impolitic pride made the English refuse. Burgundy at once made a separate treaty with the French, gaining from his new ally valuable lands on the Somme and Seine. Before he had definitely joined the French Bedford died. His loss was irreparable to the English side, for England lost her only soldier and statesman who waged war with an unselfish object. Gloucester became heir-apparent, and only Beaufort, with an unpopular peace policy, could oppose his disruptive action. So, though Richard of York had had some successes, the general policy was one of peace. It was welcomed by the wisest on both sides. France was over-run with écorcheurs or freebooters and England was becoming impoverished. The Duke of Orleans, a prisoner since Agincourt, was set free on the understanding that he was to bring about peace, and though Gloucester strongly opposed this, the successful prosecution of his wife for witchcraft for a time discredited him.

4. Defection of Burgundy.
Congress of Arras,
1435.

(Burrows 218.)

5. Death of Bedford
1435.

1440.

III. Disorder in
England.
1. Due to King's
character.

The death of Bedford deprived the King of his wisest guide, and as he was now of age he could rule for himself. But

H

Stubbs *iii.* 133)

unfortunately he was least fitted for the post which he was called upon to fill. He possessed all the noble points of the Lancastrian character, but none of their vigour and independence. He was a scholar and cared nothing for active pursuits which would have been more fitting to the needs of the time. His health was never good and at critical moments the strain proved too much for him. The loss of all he held dear, the destruction of all he held sacred, the overthrow of the traditions of his house, told fatally on his enfeebled frame and over-worked brain. But he was both pious and religious. His personal life was stainless, and his unhappy fate led many to regard him as a saint and martyr.

2. Ministry of Suffolk.

(Stubbs *iii.* 136 144—148.)

a. Treaty of Tours 1444.

b. Impeachment of Suffolk.
(Stubbs *iii.* 154.)

He was entirely under the influence of Beaufort and disliked Gloucester. The former's peace policy appealed to his religious convictions; the latter's immoral life disgusted him. So the Earl of Suffolk, a connexion of the Beauforts, had great influence. To help towards peace he arranged, in the Treaty of Tours, the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou. It was unpopular because the provinces of Maine and Anjou, the keys of Normandy, were handed over to the young queen's father who was an ally of the King of France. The French accepted all England would give and gave nothing in return. Gloucester's opposition became stronger. Suffolk was impeached in Parliament on the charge of

(a) Betraying his country to France (in the marriage Treaty).

(b) Aiming at the throne.

(c) Pursuing a policy both corrupt and treasonable.

He placed himself unreservedly in his master's hands, and Henry's treatment of him was characteristic of a weak king. He could not in justice condemn him, and he was afraid to support him. He therefore banished him. His enemies seized him while on the sea and murdered him.

c. Murder of Suffolk 1450.

3. Ministry of Somerset.

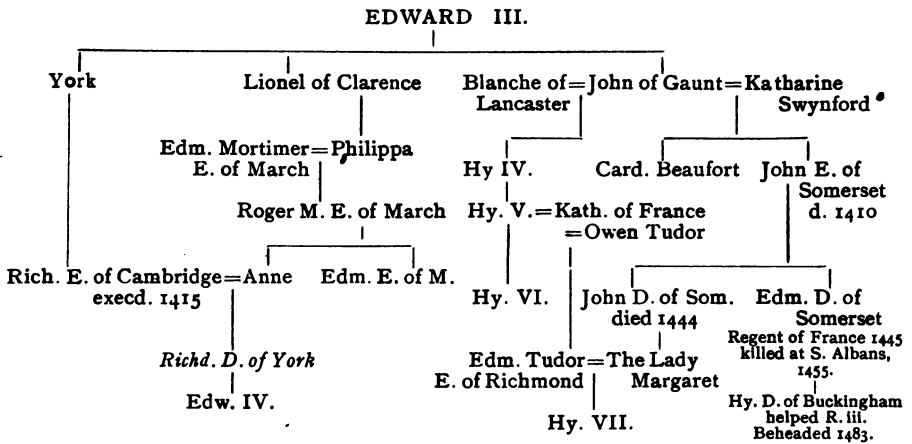
a. his rivalry with York.

i. political.

ii. dynastic.

His place was taken by Somerset, who realised that if he hoped to maintain his position he must overthrow Richard of York. The latter was popular for he had met with some success in France, and he had certainly shown ability in governing Ireland whither he had been sent by his rival. Somerset on the other hand could only count on Court favour, while, as the upholder of Suffolk's foreign policy, he inherited all its unpopularity.

The rivalry between the two men was not, however, only a political one. It was also personal and dynastic. Henry VI. as yet was childless and they each had a claim to the throne. Richard traced his descent from Mortimer, and represented the Clarence line from Edward III. Somerset, Cardinal Beaufort's nephew, represented the line of John of Gaunt, whose irregular marriage with Katharine Swynford had been legalised by Richard II.



It was difficult to decide on the respective merits of their claims, so there was ample opportunity for the rise of parties. York, moreover, besides his hereditary opposition to the Lancastrian claims, was personally embittered against the reigning house by the memory of his father's execution for the share he had had in the Southampton Plot (1415). He was only too willing to adopt the position of champion of the efficiency in government which was so sadly absent, and for which his success in France and Ireland seemed to make him suitable. In a turbulent time, when men readily appealed to the arbitrament of the sword, he was likely to be a dangerous opponent. Though York had by descent the better title yet (a) Parliament had deliberately given the crown to the Lancastrians, and (b) they had held it for over sixty years. Legally therefore he was in the wrong. But his claims may be morally justified by (a) the failure of the Lancastrians both at home and abroad, and (b) by Queen Margaret's personal hostility which forced him to desperate measures in self-preservation.

The weakness of the new minister was early shown by the increase of disorder in the country, and by the success of Cade's Rebellion. This was a political rising in Kent, led by an Irishman named Jack Cade, who pretended to be one of the Mortimers. He issued the "Complaint of the Commons of Kent." In this document (1) the loss of foreign possessions, (2) "the lack of governance" in the country, and (3) the incapacity of the ministers, were the chief complaints, whilst the whole was summed up in (4) the demand for the installation of the Duke of York in power. The rebels defeated some royal troops and entered London. As long as they were kept under control by their leaders success attended them. But the bonds of discipline were relaxed; Lord Say, the Treasurer,

b. Cade's Rebellion
1450.

(Stubbs iii. 155.
Green 281.)
(Capen 204.)

was barbarously killed ; and the people to save themselves and their property rose against Cade. His forces were disarmed by the promise of free pardons. The ringleader was afterwards caught raising another insurrection, and was summarily executed.

c. Personal rivalry of Somerset and York.

(Stubbs iii. 158.)

(Barnard 76.)

d. Loss of Normandy Guienne and Gascony.

Disorder showed itself in other parts, and gave the excuse to York to come back from Ireland. The King was too peaceful by nature, and too weak, to venture to do otherwise than receive him, and his promises of loyalty were accepted. Somerset, who had also returned from France, was imprisoned, but the King soon released him and made him Captain of Calais. The defeat at the battle of Formigny in 1450 gave the death-blow to English rule in Normandy. By the year 1451 Guienne and Gascony were finally lost to the English, and Calais alone remained. This gave York the excuse for appearing at Court with what looked dangerously like an army of supporters, and when Somerset retaliated by raising another, it seemed as if Civil War was actually about to begin. But mediation and the promised imprisonment of Somerset prevailed on York to disband his forces. The promise was not kept, but York was too powerful to attack, and his solemn oath of loyalty in S. Paul's Cathedral was sufficient to allow him to return to his home.

(Barnard 77.)
1453.

Meantime a desperate effort had been made by Talbot to regain the provinces of Guienne and Gascony. The inhabitants, long accustomed to English rule, preferred their old master to their new. But lack of supplies and rash generalship ruined this last attempt to save the English possessions. While trying to relieve Chatillon, a castle which commanded the navigation of the Gironde, the great Talbot was killed. His fall marked the final overthrow of English power in France.

v. Causes of English decline in France.

1. Changes in personality.

2. France united and England disunited.

3. English supremacy could only be artificial.

The causes are easy to understand. The very reasons which made England successful, now reversed, brought about the downfall of her power. Personal and political circumstances are the clues to English success and failure. If Henry V. and Bedford had carried all before them by their characters, Joan of Arc had taught France that the inhabitants of all the provinces were fellow-countrymen ; and against a united patriotism no soldiers could stand. If the quarrels of Orleanists and Armagnacs paved the way to English victories, the quarrels of Beaufort and Gloucester, of Somerset and York, enabled France to win back her lands from a divided opposition. But even without Joan of Arc in France and factions at home, the English supremacy would have been difficult, if not impossible, to maintain, for the position was entirely false and artificial. It could only be maintained by overwhelming

supremacy in arms and at great expense. The loss of the former, and the grudging supply of the latter, made England's position absolutely untenable. But whilst these were the general causes for the English decline in France, the appearance of Joan of Arc, and the death of Bedford, were the direct reasons for the beginning of the French successes.

4. Defection of Burgundy.
5. England tired of war.
6. Joan of Arc.
7. Death of Bedford.

2. THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

England was now entering on the last stage which led to a civil war. Everything pointed to a return of the age of Stephen, with its lawless nobles, its weak king, and its "bastard feudalism."

1. Causes of Wars of Roses.
(*Oman's Warwick ch. i.*)

The long and disastrous French War was certainly a chief cause of the Wars of the Roses. It had lingered on so long that Englishmen were unable to see that France had found her national unity, and that the cause of England was hopeless. Their enemy was no longer a set of scattered dukedoms but a united nation under a single king. England felt that her national pride had been bitterly wounded, and was ready to sacrifice any political victim. That victim proved to be the house of Lancaster.

1. The French War.
- a. National disappointment and unpopularity of Lancastrians.

But more than this, the French War had had a bad effect on English habits and morality. The vast spoils had introduced a luxury quite foreign to Englishmen. The treachery which had been so remarkable a feature on the French side in the early portions of the war, was now to be reproduced in England. Political faith and dynastic loyalty became things of the past.

- b. Bad moral effects

Moreover the country was filled with a lawless soldiery, accustomed to fighting and ready to join any leader who would give them the opportunity. Knights and lords, driven from their holdings in France, where they had ruled as feudal lords by force of arms, helped to increase the warlike feeling in the country.

- c. Free soldiery.

They found ready supporters in the great Barons. These were few but they were dangerous. Edward III.'s policy had been to marry his sons to great heiresses or into great landed families. The result was that England was divided among a few great nobles, all closely connected with the royal house. Their ambitions and jealousies were therefore not easily suppressed. They supported vast numbers of retainers who wore their "livery" or badge. That of Lancaster was a red rose, that of York a white rose, that of Warwick a bear and ragged staff, that of Margaret a white swan. Not only were the ranks of these followers swollen by the soldiers and knights home from the wars, but the smaller landowners placed themselves under the protection of some over-lord. Otherwise it was impossible to escape oppression. Once dependent on a lord,

2. Social.
- a. Baronage (*Baronard 78-9 and cf. Paston Letters.*)

- Livery.
(*Stubbs iii. § 470-1.*)

- Maintenance.

his follower might be sure that his cause would be "maintained" in any court of law, if necessary by force of arms.

b, The Clergy.

The prominence of the "overmighty subject" even affected the Clergy, who no longer supported the Crown or the people against baronial tyranny. As a whole the clergy had become inert and lifeless. Their energies had been spent in persecution and politics. There is no saintly character to be found in this age. Beaufort, perhaps one of the best of the higher clergy, was a politician first and a priest afterwards. Moreover the dignitaries of the Church became simply the nominees of the ruling families, and threw in their lot with them.

c, Towns.

The towns and their burgesses, so long as their business was not interfered with, cared little for politics. Interested only in their growing trade, and disgusted by the evident self-seeking of all parties, they stood aloof from the faction quarrels and made the best of whatever happened. In the Civil War they were seldom found taking part in any of the battles except that of Towton. They accepted the change of dynasty with indifference. If they inclined somewhat to the side of York, it was because that party claimed to represent order and this would help trade. On the other hand, Margaret's foolish depredations and outrages on towns alienated the pacific traders.

3. Political.

But while the towns were passive, and the clergy inert, the great lords, whose feuds between themselves were scarcely restrained, only wanted an opportunity to settle their quarrels in a civil war. Such an opportunity was offered by the troubled state of politics. The King was but the tool of the most powerful. That party which had hitherto been in power had gone far to lose France and was entirely incapable of keeping order in England. Suffolk and Somerset fell, to the general joy, but their party found an abler and more unscrupulous recruit in Margaret of Anjou. She was a woman of strong likes and dislikes, and made it clear that her foes would never have any voice in the government. She distrusted York because of his nearness to the throne; she was disliked because the surrender of French provinces had seemed to be the price of her marriage. While Henry might have continued to play the part of a constitutional king if left to himself, it was impossible to do so when his wife became a party leader.

4. Dynastic.

The relations of both parties were further strained by the fact that Richard of York had, strictly speaking, a better title to the throne than Henry VI. It was not for some years yet that any formal claim was made. Not till 1460 did Richard, forced by the impolitic action of Margaret, and much against the advice of his best friends, put it definitely forward.

II. Immediate events leading to Wars of Roses.
a, Importance of 1453.

The events of the years 1453 and 1454 opened the Civil War. It was in these years that the disastrous loss of Chatillon finally

destroyed the nation's trust in the Government, while the insanity of the king placed the Queen and Richard of York in direct rivalry for the Regency. At the same time the birth of a Lancastrian heir destroyed any hopes of a peaceful Yorkist succession.

The insanity of the King, brought on largely by worries and factions with which he was too gentle to cope, caused the government to come to a standstill. The unpopularity of Somerset and the popular hatred of the Queen left Richard supreme. Though he had broken the privileges of Parliament in arresting their Speaker, Thorpe, yet he was too powerful to be denied. He had his rival, Somerset, arrested on charges of treason and incapacity, and thrown into the Tower. In 1454 Duke Richard was nominated Protector, whilst the death of Archbishop Kemp, the Chancellor, who was a statesman of the Beaufort school, removed all checks on his ambition. He shewed tact and skill. Changes were made in the ministry which would strengthen his party, whilst the appointment of Bouchier as Archbishop gave offence to neither party. But no extreme measures were taken and Somerset was not brought to trial. On the other hand the duke shewed his ability for governing in his suppression of a rising in the north which might have been serious.

Early in 1455 the King recovered. At once general changes were made. The Yorkists were dismissed from their offices. Somerset was set free and declared loyal. It was plain that the old régime was to be restored in its entirety, especially as all Yorkists were excluded from a council held at Leicester to deliberate on the safety of the king. York, Salisbury and Warwick at once took up arms, and, declaring their loyalty to the King, marched on London. Their action was so sudden that the King under Somerset's influence had to call together what nobles he could to oppose them, and went to meet them with an army thus composed. The two forces met at S. Alban's. It was the opening battle of the Civil War which had been so long threatening, and which was to plunge England into bloodshed for thirty years.

The royal forces took up their position within the town, and barricaded themselves against all attacks. Some four hours were spent in fruitless negotiations, which had the effect of making the royalists careless. Suddenly the enemy were seen to be advancing in three columns against the north, east and south entrances. They were driven back at all points. But Warwick on the south had discovered a weak spot, and, returning there, he broke into the town in the rear of the Lancastrian centre. It turned to defend itself, but the renewal of the attack on its front caused the whole line to waver and break. A street fight followed in which the Yorkists gained the

(cf. *Henry VI. pt. 2, 4. 3.*)

b York Protector.
1454.

c, Recovery of king
and beginning of
bloodshed.

III. The First Act
in the War.

1. First battle of S.
Alban's 1455.

(Oman's *Warwick*,
53.)

advantage. Northumberland and Somerset, the one capable minister left to Henry VI., were killed; the King was wounded. Seventy-two Lancastrians of high rank were found dead in the streets. A similar mortality among the nobles continued throughout the war.

2. York again in power. 1456.

The Yorkists used their victory with moderation, and Parliament ratified their action. Warwick became Captain of Calais, an important factor in his later life. The relapse of the King enabled York once more to seize office. His government was harassed by the private wars of great nobles and Scottish raids probably instigated by Margaret. But on the recovery of the King he still held his place at Court, and a solemn reconciliation took place at S. Paul's between the two parties. The peace lasted scarcely a year. Warwick, as Captain of Calais, was both active and successful in clearing the sea of pirates. His captures were profitable but not always politic.

3. Temporary Reconciliation 1458.

Followed by Retaliation on Yorkists. (For the Hanse cf. *Barnard* 282-8.)

He was called to London to account for his seizure of some Hanseatic vessels. While there a street brawl broke out between his followers and those of the royal household, in which he nearly lost his life. Suspecting that the affair was arranged by the Queen he left the Court, and, after warning his father Salisbury and the Duke of York, returned to Calais.

Margaret was, there is no doubt, arranging for the forcible suppression of the Yorkists, and men were being enlisted. The Yorkists also began to prepare. In September, 1459, Salisbury with his forces set out from Yorkshire to join York at Ludlow. Lord Audley, by the Queen's order, tried to intercept him at Bloreheath on the western border of Staffordshire. Salisbury took up a defensive position on the edge of a wood, and, having beaten off two charges of Audley's horsemen, he attacked and overthrew them. He then proceeded on his way and joined York and Warwick.

4. Bloreheath, 1459.

Both sides had now considerable forces under arms, but the royalists were better prepared, and when they approached Ludlow a great proportion of the Yorkists fled and their leaders had to seek safety in flight. Salisbury, Warwick, and Edward of March, York's son, reached Calais; York himself went to Ireland.

5. 'Rout of Ludford.'

This "Rout of Ludford" reasserted the supremacy of the Lancastrians, and the Parliament which met at Coventry soon afterwards was, as was usual at this time, a mere creature in the hands of the party in power. It readily attainted the Yorkist lords of treason. The First Act of the great drama of the Wars of the Roses ended with the triumph of the House of Lancaster.

6. Parlt. of Coventry.

The way the House of Lancaster used its triumph made a peaceful settlement of differences more than ever impossible. The Yorkist leaders were exasperated by the measures of re-

venge taken against them, and, being declared traitors and outlaws, they saw no other way of regaining their position save by an appeal to arms. Three times had the sword been drawn already, but it was soon to remain unsheathed in a long and sanguinary Civil War.

The position of the Lancastrians was strong. On the whole the people still sided with them as the ruling power. The majority of the nobility were also in their favour as yet, while the clergy were on the side of peace and the saintly King. They were sure to have the powerful support of the Percies of Northumberland; of the Nevilles of Westmoreland; of Oxford whose lands lay along the Thames valley; of the Courtenays of Devon; of Somerset, Clifford, Dacre, Talbot, and the Wydevilles. In fact the north and west were chiefly royalist as afterwards in the Great Rebellion. And at this stage there were many on the King's side, because it was the King's side, who later deserted to the Yorkists because that in turn became the King's side.

But already it, too, had great nobles to support it, whose fewness of numbers was made up for by their vast possessions and numerous followers. The Norfolks since Richard II.'s days had been foes of the Lancastrians, and remained so till Henry VII.'s accession. Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury was a Yorkist at heart. Salisbury and his sons, Warwick, Montagu, and the Archbishop of York, were all kinsmen of Richard of York. Essex had married his sister. He drew popular support from the trading centres in the south and east, where the Lancastrian "lack of governance" had alienated the merchants and townspeople.

The Yorkists had the advantage in capacity. The King, a recluse and a student, was horrified at war and worse than useless as a leader, and could only arouse a sentimental sympathy for the misfortunes which crowded upon him. Queen Margaret was hated both for her foreign birth and for her overbearing haughtiness. On the other hand both York and Warwick were of approved skill and were personally popular.

The Second Act began with a Yorkist success.

The attainted lords made great preparations to re-assert their position. The ablest leader by far was Warwick, and on him fell the brunt of the preparations and plans. After attempts of Margaret to rouse their Irish and French hosts against them had failed, it was arranged that Salisbury and Warwick should land in the south, and York in the north. Accordingly in 1460 the expedition of the former landed at Sandwich with, in their train, the Papal Legate, who from being a mediator had become a partisan. Bouchier and a host of Kentish-men at once joined them. They issued a manifesto, complaining of (1) the frustration of their attempts

IV. Second Act in Wars of Roses.

1. Distribution of Parties.

a. Lancastrians.

b. Yorkists.

2. Comparison of Parties.

3. The Yorkist lords return 1460.

to help the King, (2) the revival of purveyance, (3) perversion of law and justice, (4) heavy taxation, (5) personal attacks on themselves, and (6) the absence of preparations to meet an expected invasion by France. They then advanced on London where they were welcomed. Salisbury was left in charge, whilst Warwick went to meet the King.

4. B. of Northampton, 1460.
(*Oman's Warwick* 95)

The Lancastrians were caught unprepared. Still the Midlands under Buckingham, Shrewsbury, and Grey de Ruthin attended the King's summons to Coventry. Margaret and her son were gathering re-inforcements in the north. The King moved to Northampton and took up a strongly fortified position. Warwick arrived with a slightly stronger force. After vainly endeavouring to obtain a personal interview with the King, he determined to storm the position. It was no easy task, for the river Nen made a bend which guarded both flanks, whilst a strong entrenchment, surmounted by cannon and a stockade, stretched across the front. Giving the order that knights and nobles alone should be done to death, the Yorkists made a strong attack along the whole front, only to be beaten back. But treachery, a common feature of the war, delivered the Lancastrians into the Yorkists' power. Ruthin permitted the Earl of March to seize the Lancastrian left. This accomplished, the battle was soon a rout. Buckingham, Shrewsbury, and other Lancastrian leaders, fell round their King, who was captured and taken to London.

Henry VI. captured.

5. York claims the crown:

Compromise.

York himself arrived later to find his friends in power and Parliament sitting. He now definitely laid claim to the throne as the heir of Clarence, son of Edward III. The opposition of Warwick, Bourchier, and other of his supporters, to a course so opposite to all their protestations of loyalty to the throne, brought about a compromise: Henry, unable to secure the rights of his son, was to reign during his lifetime but was to be succeeded by Richard of York. Such an arrangement enabled all lords, lay and clerical, to clear themselves of treachery.

6. B. of Wakefield 1460.

(*Stubbs* *iss.* 193.)

(*Green* 284.)

(*Oman's Warwick* 103.)

But the Parliament which approved this arrangement was purely partizan. Margaret and the Lancastrian lords in the north paid little heed to it except to be roused by it to fresh exertions. The masterful Queen persuaded James of Scotland to besiege Roxburgh, while she summoned Northumberland, Clifford, Somerset and Neville to her aid. Fresh levies came from Wales and Devonshire. York with an inferior force marched north to quell the rising. He scattered a small force of the enemy at Worksop, and reached Sandal Castle, near Wakefield, unopposed. But he found the enemy in far superior numbers and sent back for re-inforcements. Before they could arrive he was attacked by Somerset and Clifford, his forces scattered, and himself slain. With him fell the chief Yorkist leaders, and Salisbury, Warwick's father, was be-

headed. His own head, crowned in derision with a paper diadem, was impaled on the battlements of York; his younger son Rutland, being captured by Clifford, was brutally stabbed to death by his captor. "As your father killed mine" (in the first battle of S. Alban's) said Clifford, "I will kill you." The Lancastrians had indeed revenged themselves for Northampton.

Collecting her forces, which were largely re-inforced by the victory, Margaret hastened south. It was this march which probably ruined the Lancastrian cause. Many of her men were moss-troopers whose lives were spent in border raids. They laid waste town and country alike, and spoiled friend and foe with reckless impartiality. So great was the terror they inspired, that their memory is said to have lingered on until the march of the Young Pretender in 1745. They entirely alienated the trading classes, and in the next great battle, Towton, townsmen are found engaged for the first time, and on the Yorkist side.

7. Margaret's southward march.

Warwick, all-unprepared for this unexpected vigour, took the lead of the Yorkists. Rallying his forces, he led them out of London to check the Lancastrians' advance. He came in touch with them at S. Alban's and stretched his men in scattered detachments along a front of three miles. But communication was poorly kept up, and the scouting was bad. The Lancastrians attacked unexpectedly, and, though their right was driven back, treachery allowed them to pierce the line on the left. The King was re-captured and the Yorkist host scattered. The victors again as at Wakefield made their victory hideous with revolting cruelty, a feature which marked all future battles during the war.

Second B. of S.
Albans.
1461.

London now seemed to lie at the Queen's mercy, and with the capture of the seat of government the war might have been over. But London did not fall. It may have been that Henry dreaded to see his capital fall into the hands of the marauding Northerners. In any case the failure to take London had important results.

Henry VI. re-taken
by Lancastrians.

The Londoners thought their foes were afraid to strike a decisive blow, and, while the marauders hesitated, the Earl of March, York's eldest son, who was in Wales, called out his followers. A strong force under Jasper Tudor, son of Owen Tudor and Queen Katharine, blocked his way at Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore, but it was decisively beaten, and Edward marched on. He joined Warwick at Chipping Norton, and unopposed the two bands were welcomed by the Londoners, for, as the old rhyme ran,

8. Edward of York.
a. Mortimer's Cross.

*He that had London forsake
They would no more to them take.*

The King's forces lay at Dunstable and even now it was thought they would try to take the capital. To strengthen the

b, Edward IV.
crowned King.
(Stubbs *iii.* 195.)

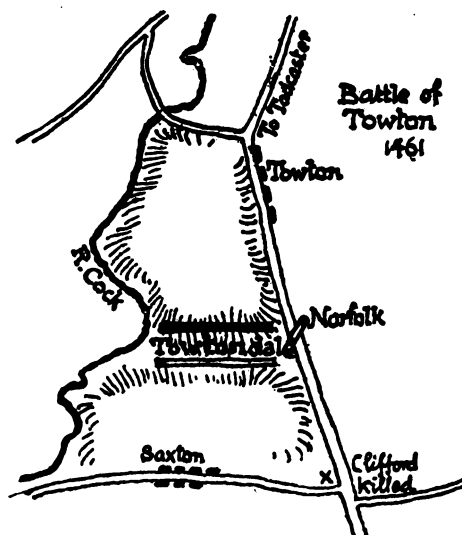
Yorkist cause and give it some legitimate right now that Henry was again with the Lancastrians, Edward was crowned King of England amid the plaudits of the merchants and people of London. The Lancastrian army, finding the Londoners so definitely on the Yorkist side, drew back northwards, leaving a trail of blood and fire in its wake.

The usurpation was of course a restoration of the rightful line, but Edward had yet to establish his succession by a decisive victory. He lost no time in following the retreating army along the Great North Road, and overtook it in Yorkshire. It occupied a strong position behind the flooded Aire, near Towton. Carelessness enabled Fitzwalter to seize a bridge over the river at Ferrybridge, and though he was driven from his position by Clifford, the latter was unsupported and compelled to withdraw. Before he reached his main body his force was suddenly attacked by a detached column of Yorkists which had crossed unmolested and unsuspected at Castleford. He was routed, he himself being slain in the very act of bracing on his helmet.

c, Towton 1461.

(Oman's *Warwick*
117-126; Green 285.)

At the Battle of Towton both sides were at their strongest. The Yorkists had over 48,000 men and the Lancastrians about 60,000. The latter held a very strong position at the top of the northern slope out of Towton-dale, but their front was far too small to allow their numbers to be used effectively. It was about a mile and a half long, lying between the river Cock, flooded by winter rains, and impassable, on its right flank, and the high road on its left.



The Yorkists, though inferior in numbers, had to attack. Their plan was to engage the enemy till Norfolk could bring up his re-inforcements. Both Edward and Warwick had a father to avenge, and the loss of life which such a plan must entail weighed but little with them. Accordingly, before dawn on the bleak March morning of Palm Sunday, 1461, they led their forces up the slope in the teeth of wind and snow. Suddenly, as they neared the top, the wind veered round, and drove the snow right into the faces of their foes. Fauconbridge, Warwick's uncle, took advantage of this change to carry out a clever movement. He sent his archers forward with orders to fire a volley and then retire. This they did, and the enemy replied, as he expected, by pouring showers of arrows in the teeth of the blinding snow on to the spot which of course had just been abandoned. In this way they wasted their ammunition and did absolutely no damage.

When ammunition began to fail them Fauconbridge again advanced, and the harrassing effect of his arrows, to which it was impossible to make any effective reply, forced the whole Lancastrian line to leave its strong defensive position and take the aggressive. From five o'clock till twelve a close hand-to-hand fight raged in the gloom and the snow, which showed, we are told "more red than white." The slaughter on both sides was enormous. At last the expected re-inforcements under Norfolk began to arrive. The Lancastrians were fully occupied, so the new-comers were able to surround them on their exposed left and rear, only leaving open the side where thundered the impassable Cock.

Then the whole Yorkist line began to press forward, while their adversaries, unable to face three ways at once, yet stubbornly contesting every step, were driven slowly but relentlessly into the river. Many were drowned in the floods. Hundreds were trodden down in the shallows by their flying comrades. The last who crossed did so over the corpses of their friends. Through the winter night and on into the morrow, almost to the gates of York, the Yorkists pressed the pursuit, and 30,000 corpses stained the snow.

Northumberland and many more of noble birth were slain, and Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devon, being taken, lost his head by the hands of the executioner. King Henry, who had stayed to pray for his men in York Minster, "for he was better at praying than at fighting" (as an old Chronicler remarks), escaped with his wife and son, and five attendants, over the border. The Lancastrian power was destroyed, and Edward had secured his accession by the sure seal of victory. Thus ended the second Act of the War.

EDWARD IV. 1461—1483.

I. THE THIRD ACT IN THE WARS OF THE ROSES .

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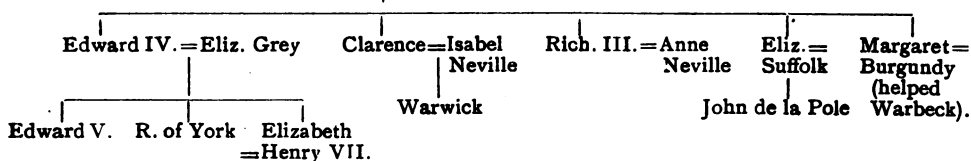
i. *Edward IV.'s title and character.*

(*Stubbs* iii. 199 and 225; *Green* 292.)

(*Barnard* 277.)

The new king was a descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III. He rested his claim to the throne on this descent. He was a popular king: young, handsome, and courageous, he easily won the hearts of his subjects. There were some solid reasons for his popularity. He was a clever soldier. He favoured trade and even took some personal part in mercantile ventures. He was the patron of Caxton and the New Learning. He was a statesman with a settled domestic and foreign policy. But as a man he was bad, vicious, cruel, and immoral: traits which became more marked as he grew more powerful.

RICHARD OF YORK.



Though Edward had won such a decisive victory at Towton, Lancastrian opposition was by no means crushed. Margaret and Henry had escaped to Scotland and tried to form an alliance there. By the bribe of Berwick the Scots were persuaded to besiege Carlisle, but they were driven off by Montagu. The Queen then applied to France. She persuaded Louis XI. to help her by promising to give up Calais to him. She went herself to direct affairs in Northumberland, and was undaunted by the terrors of shipwreck and other adventures which befell her. There three strong castles held out for her, Dunstanburgh, Bamborough, and Alnwick. But Warwick, to whom the duty of clearing the Lancastrians from the north had been given, soon caused the first two to surrender, whilst the third was given up to Hastings after the escape of the garrison. Most of the Lancastrian leaders, especially Somerset and Percy, now made their peace with the new king and were received into favour, for the Yorkist policy at this time was one of conciliation. Margaret fled to Flanders; Henry wandered about the borders; and at length Harlech alone held out for him.

II. Continuation of Yorkist successes.

(Green 285.)

a, Northern castles.

Suddenly however the war broke out again. Scotland was still on Henry's side. Percy turned once more, and the three castles in the north again became Lancastrian garrisons. Percy fell at Hedgeley Moor as he tried to bar Montagu's way to Scotland. A peace for fifteen years was concluded with that country and the Lancastrians had no refuge on which to fall back. Somerset, conscience-stricken for his treachery, exasperated by the jeers of the Yorkists and the execrations of the Lancastrians, made a last desperate effort for Henry VI. at Hexham. Deserted and betrayed, he had only 500 men to face the enemy. The battle was a massacre. Somerset and his fellow lords were captured and promptly executed. The castles of the north, with no hope of support or relief, once again surrendered. The first phase of Edward's reign was over, and the new king seemed to be firmly seated on his throne.

b, Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, 1464.

The next period of the reign is chiefly noticeable for the gradual alienation of Warwick, and it ends with his death on the field of Barnet.

III. Alienation of Warwick.

Division between Edward and Warwick was bound to occur. Both were strong-willed men, and the former, though he owed much to the latter, who was by far the most powerful man in England, was too high-spirited to take second place. Warwick was a great noble, but his character made him also a great leader. By a series of fortunate marriages the Nevilles owned vast possessions. Warwick himself had lands and manors in most parts of England. South Wales, Herefordshire, Buckinghamshire, counties in the south and east, Warwickshire, and Oxfordshire, besides Yorkshire where was his great estate at Middleham, all had possessions of the great Earl. The "bear and ragged staff" was to be seen all over England. His tactics and strategy in nearly every battle had proved him to be a great soldier, whilst his naval warfare and defence of Calais shewed that he was an equally good sailor. As a statesman he seems to have been politic and far-sighted, and his foreign policy was wise and able. Personally he was ambitious and jealous, but loyal to the Yorkist cause. He, more than anyone, had given Edward his crown, and he only left the man he had trained as a soldier and crowned as a king when he realised that his own ruin was determined.

a. Warwick's position.

(Green 286-7.)

b. His character.

(Stubbs iii. 218.)

c. Causes of alienation.

(Oman's *Warwick*.
ch. xlii.)

1. King's marriage 1464.

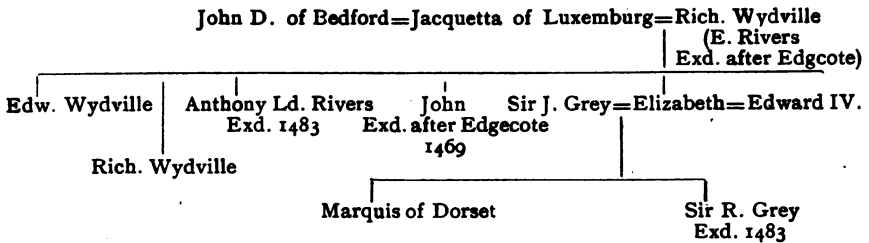
(Stubbs iii. 207.)

As was but natural Warwick expected to hold and did hold the chief power at Court. He was confirmed in all his honours, and others were heaped on him. One of his brothers, Montagu, became Earl of Northumberland; another, George, the Archbishop of York, was made Chancellor. But the year 1461, which saw the overthrow of the Lancastrian cause, saw the seeds sown of the later quarrel between Edward and Warwick. The latter proposed to ruin Margaret's cause by bringing about an alliance with France. Nothing would cement this more strongly than the marriage of Edward to Bona of Savoy, Louis XI.'s sister. When this was urged, Edward confessed that he had already married, secretly during the last northern campaign, Elizabeth Wydville. The lady was a widow of a Lancastrian knight, Sir John Grey, who had fallen in the second battle of S. Alban's. The King was younger than his wife, but seems to have been captivated by her beauty. Such a marriage was bound to be distasteful to his supporters, for it was carried through without their advice, and not only did this lady belong to a family which had taken the opposite side, but it hurt their pride that a family of humbler rank should be advanced over their heads. Warwick especially was hardly hit by this love-match, for it effectually cut the ground from his well-known policy in regard to France.

2. Advancement of the Wydviles and 'New Nobility'.

Edward, by advancing the Wydviles and their friends, began to surround himself with a new nobility who owed nothing to ancient descent and family history but were merely dependent on the King. Such a policy was natural, for a king

GENEALOGY OF WYDVILLES.



could not wish to be fettered for ever by his friends ; but it was very dangerous. Offices of State were showered on the "new men." Rivers, the queen's father, became Treasurer and Constable of England. His sons and daughters, friends and relatives, by fortunate marriages arranged by the King, soon began to assume an influential and important position in England. Such rapid advancement caused much heart-burning amongst Warwick's friends.

Though disappointed in his original plan, Warwick did not abate his efforts to bring about a political union with France. Although a marriage alliance between Margaret of York and Charles the heir of Burgundy was proposed, Warwick was allowed to go to France to confirm a lasting peace. He was received with almost royal honours, and brought back to French commissioners to complete the treaty. On his return, he found Burgundian nobles being fêted and honoured. His French companions were slighted and neglected, and after six weeks, having done nothing, they returned home. Charles had meanwhile succeeded his father, the Duke of Burgundy, and the marriage was now seriously pressed forward. The new alliance was popular amongst the traders and merchants, and perhaps more politic than an Anglo-French treaty. But the way it was arranged was as discreditable to Edward as it was dishonouring to Warwick, who from this time saw how doubtful was his position, and how necessary it was that he should take measures to secure it.

The struggle which now began may be compared to that of Beaufort and Gloucester in the last reign. The King had no male heir, so Warwick tried to oppose the growth of Wydville influence by a marriage between his eldest daughter Isabel and the Duke of Clarence, the King's brother. The King had already forbidden the match but without his knowledge or consent the two were married at Calais. Clarence was entirely under the influence of his father-in-law, and seems to have hoped with his aid to gain the crown on Edward's death, if not before.

3. Foreign policy.
(Stubbs iii. 208.)

1. Marriage of
Clarence and
Isabella, 1469.

There were signs that the struggle was to recommence, and that the throne was again to be fought for. The Lancastrians were encouraged by widespread discontent in the country. (1) An expedition to France had proved a failure; (2) the rise of the Wydviles offended the old nobility, and (3) general disorder in the country was proving that the new dynasty was no more capable than the old had been. A serious rising took place in the north which was undoubtedly prompted by Warwick. Under Robin of Redesdale 60,000 men rose in Yorkshire and at the same time there were insurrections in other counties. The rebels published a manifesto very similar to that of the Commons of Kent in Cade's rebellion. They complained of the disorders in the country, heavy taxation, and extravagant expenditure, declaring that all was due to the baneful influence of the Wydviles. The King was taken by surprise. A force of Welsh levies under Pembroke was defeated at Edgecote, near Banbury, and the royalist leaders were beheaded. In other parts of the country the rebels were equally successful and Rivers and his son John were captured and put to death. The Nevilles returned to England at the summons of the King, but both they and Clarence supported the reforms demanded, and Edward was actually imprisoned. He was soon released, but the Nevilles returned to power and a general pardon was issued.

2. Robin of Redesdale's rising, 1469.
(*Oman's Warwick*, p. 83.)

a, B. of Edgecote.

b, Warwick supports rebels.

3. Welles's rebellion and flight of Warwick, 1470.
(*Oman's Warwick*, 193.)

Lose-coat Field.

Soon afterwards there was another rising, headed by Sir Robert Welles, in Lincolnshire. Edward, alarmed for the safety of his throne, treacherously executed the leaders. He then marched against the rebels, who, hoping Warwick would help them, prepared to give battle at Stamford. No succour arrived and the battle soon became a rout, known by the name of "Lose-coat Field." The leader was captured and confessed that the intention was to make Clarence king. Whether Warwick had any hand in the ill-conceived plan, which was confessedly Lancastrian, may be doubted, yet appearances were against him. Orders were issued for the arrest of Clarence, Warwick, and the Nevilles, but they escaped to the Continent. The quarrel between Edward and Warwick was complete.

4. Warwick and Lancastrians.

The exiles were refused admission to Calais so they had to seek hospitality in France. Louis XI. welcomed them, as he saw an opportunity not only of warding off any English attack, but of revenging himself on Edward. With much trouble and care a reconciliation was arranged between Margaret and Warwick. It was a horrible alliance, since each had slain the other's kin, Margaret at Wakefield, Warwick at S. Alban's (1st), and only the needs of the moment brought it about. It was sealed by the betrothal of young Henry to Anne, Warwick's younger daughter, and Henry VI. was to be restored by the help of his loyal subject Warwick.

- a Alliance with Margaret.

(*Oman's Warwick*, 201.)

Such an alliance disappointed Clarence, who saw little hope of his succession, although his name was to be inserted after that of the Prince of Wales. His fickle nature, the appeals of Edward, and his resentment at this new alliance, led him secretly to promise to desert to his brother. Edward, therefore, confidently awaited the issue of the invasion.

Warwick, to clear the way for his landing, caused his retainers in the north to rise, and Edward at once marched there to suppress them. Warwick and Clarence then landed at Dartmouth. His proclamation on behalf of Henry VI. drew to his standard the Lancastrians of the south whilst his retainers from all over England swelled his numbers. Edward seems to have been confident of victory. With his army under Montagu he lay near Nottingham. But he trusted foolishly to a commander whom he had slighted. After Hexham, Montagu had been given the lands of Northumberland and the title, and had loyally supported the king during the crisis of Warwick's alienation. To win back the loyalty of the Percies Edward had restored their lands, and Montagu had been made a Marquis to compensate for his loss. It was an advance in dignity but a decline in wealth; as he said, it was "a pie's nest." On the first opportunity Montagu with his troops declared for Henry VI., and Edward, betrayed and deserted, fled to Lynn. From there, penniless, harassed by storms and pirates, he reached Holland, and threw himself on the protection of his brother-in-law of Burgundy. Warwick had conquered England in eleven days.

b, His return to England.

c, Edward's flight.

Parliament met and re-established Henry VI. The succession was settled on his son, and, failing him, on the Duke of Clarence. The Nevilles were restored to all their old offices. The Lancastrians were given back their possessions and titles. Measures were taken to win back the great lords on both sides. The foreign policy of Warwick, which included a firm alliance with Louis, progressed favourably, and France, on the verge of war with Burgundy, welcomed English aid.

d, Restoration of Henry VI. 1470.

But there were dangerous elements of discord. The great Yorkist lords, though willing to see the Wydevilles disgraced, disliked the deposition of Edward and resented the supremacy of the Nevilles. Others who had allied with the Wydevilles now lost all influence. The merchants too had lost heavily by the departure of Edward who was deeply in their debt, and who always favoured their trading expeditions. Meanwhile Clarence was secretly corresponding with his brother.

The Duke of Burgundy, unwilling to lose English trade, but well knowing Warwick's hostility to himself, was forced to support Edward. At last an expedition set out, and though a storm dispersed it, Edward, after many adventures, landed at Ravenspur. It was in Warwick's county, and he found

5. Return of Edward IV. 1471.

a, Early successes.

little or no support, so, like Henry Bolingbroke, he proclaimed that he had only returned to claim his lands. By negligence or treachery Percy did not check him. Montagu also failed to crush him. Gathering troops as he drew near London he soon had 18,000 supporters. The Yorkist lords joined him, and Clarence at the last minute brought 7,000 men to his standard. London welcomed him, and he was soon strong enough to march out to meet Warwick and Montagu.

b, B. of Barnet, 1471.

(*Oman's Warwick*,
ch. xvii.)

(*Last of Barons*, Bk.
12. ch. 4-7.)

They met at Barnet. The two forces, each about 24,000 strong, lay opposite each other during Easter Eve. Warwick, opposed by Richard of Gloucester, commanded his left; Somerset the centre facing Edward; Montagu and Oxford were opposite Hastings. As it happened, the lines of the opposing forces were not exactly opposite one another. Edward's right overlapped Warwick, whilst Montagu and Oxford could easily out-flank Hastings. The morning of the battle, Easter Day, 1471, was very foggy, and this had much to do with Warwick's defeat. After a preliminary bombardment of arrows and artillery, the long lines met in the shock of battle. At first Warwick's forces were successful and Hastings was driven off the field. Oxford, blindly following, ruined everything, for the King was pressing Somerset hardly, whilst Warwick had much to do to save his troops who were being out-flanked. Oxford, on returning, missed his way in the fog and found himself in rear of his own centre. He was mistaken for the foe, and met with a shower of arrows. Imagining that he was betrayed, he fled raising the cry of treachery. It spread along the line, which at once wavered and was soon pierced by Edward. Warwick saw the day was lost and turned to escape, but was forced to make a stand. He died fighting to the last.

c, B. of Tewkesbury.
(George 147.)

The fall of the great Warwick was the knell of the Lancastrian cause. It made those who sympathised with him fear to rise, while it encouraged Edward to renewed activity. The day of Warwick's downfall saw the long-delayed arrival of Margaret at Weymouth. The news of defeat caused her to move towards Wales. But her army was ill-disciplined and without hope. People who would have joined it had Warwick won at Barnet feared now to do so. She was overtaken at Tewkesbury by Edward, who utterly routed her forces. Her son and many others, including Somerset, were killed. Margaret was made a prisoner. While Edward was in the west, Fauconbridge, on the side of Warwick, landed in Kent and all but captured London. Treachery again played its part, and the leader left his men to their fate. Edward returned and entered London in triumph, and the same day Henry VI. died in the tower. His death was too fortunate to allow the Yorkists to claim that it was due to natural causes.

Edward IV. was now completely master of his kingdom. Queen Margaret was sent back to France, for the birth of a son to Edward in 1470 seemed to make any possible claim by a Lancastrian quite improbable.

IV. Edward
supreme.
1. Foreign policy.
a, Burgundy.

Following Henry V.'s example a treaty was made with Burgundy and a claim was put forward to the French throne. Vast preparations were made. The finest army which England had ever sent abroad landed at Calais in July, 1475. To make it thoroughly efficient, every device had been put into practice. Parliament voted large sums, the clergy in convocation added still more to the general fund. A third means was employed, which was as profitable as it was illegal: benevolences, or gifts free in name but forced in fact from wealthy subjects, often by the personal solicitations of the King, were levied. This practice became very common and it formed one of the chief popular complaints in later reigns. Louis XI. would have found it impossible to make a strong opposition to the combined attack of Burgundy and England. He trusted to his diplomatic skill to escape from his unpleasant difficulty. The Duke of Burgundy was engaged at the time in a war with Germany. When he returned he found Louis had won over Edward to his side. The two kings had met on the *bridge of Pecquigny* with a grating between them and had arranged a truce. Louis promised to pay annually a large sum of money to England. This Louis called a pension, Edward a tribute. To Louis the name did not matter as long as he gained his point, while Edward too was more than satisfied, for he had obtained money from his subjects for the war and from his foes for the peace. The Dauphin was to marry the Princess Elizabeth.

(Stubbs iii. 219 & 224)

b, France.

T. of Pecquigny,
1475.

At home trouble was brewing. Richard of Gloucester had married Anne Neville. His claim on the lands of Warwick were resisted by Clarence, who had done his best to prevent the marriage. Edward, however, supported his younger brother, and, by an Act of Parliament, the vast estates were equally divided. The King suspected his brother of traitorous designs, and this was increased by Clarence's ideas of a second marriage. Isabella Neville had died, and, with the approval of his sister Margaret, the duke wished to marry the daughter and heiress of Burgundy. Edward had no wish to see his brother a powerful continental prince, and put every obstacle in his way. This caused a fresh estrangement between the brothers. Soon after Edward himself accused his brother of treason before the House of Lords. He was condemned, and, it is said, drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. He had played an ignoble part, and was the victim of a disappointed ambition. His weak nature made him the prey of any stronger will. Shakespeare's summary of his character,—“false, fleeting, perjured Clarence,”—is as apt as it is true.

2. Fall of Clarence.

a, Quarrel with
Richard of
Gloucester.

b, Quarrel with
Edward about
Burgundian
marriage.

c, His execution,
1478.

3. Foreign affairs. The removal of Clarence brought peace. Though Richard of Gloucester hated the Wydvilles, the Scottish war, of which he had direction, prevented any open quarrel. James III., renowned for his love of arts and science, was no fit monarch of the turbulent Scottish lords. His very brothers revolted against him. However, Edward wished to secure a Scottish, as he had done a French, alliance, by a marriage. It was all arranged when suddenly, by the prompting of Louis, James tried to invade England. Gloucester, with Albany, the Scottish king's brother, invaded Scotland and took Edinburgh and Berwick. But in France misfortune attended Edward. Louis, finding Edward's alliance was useless, and desiring to unite France, broke the Treaty of Pecquigny, and seized the opportunity to arrange a marriage between the Dauphin and Margaret of Burgundy. Edward had been completely duped by his clever rival, but before he could take any action, he died.
- a. Scottish War, 1482.
- b, Hostility of France. 1483.
4. Domestic Policy. His government, especially after Warwick's death, was an absolutism. He called Parliament seldom and used it little. Money was often taken by force. The administration of justice was much interfered with, and the law was disregarded. Torture was often used. Mercy there was none for those who fell beneath the King's displeasure and came within his power. The number of persons put to death during the reign is unparalleled: every kind of resistance was put down ruthlessly and cruelly. Yet trade increased, and Edward retained much of his popularity, especially with the trading classes and the inhabitants of the towns, to the end of his reign.
- (Stubbs iii. § 359).

EDWARD V. 1483 (April to June).

- i. *The Parties at Court*
 1. Wydviles
 2. Lords of the Council
 3. Old Nobility
 4. Richard Duke of Gloucester
- ii. *Events leading to Gloucester's supremacy*
 1. Attack on Wydviles
 2. Attack on Council
 3. Attack on Edward V.'s title
 4. Attack on London
 5. Richard proclaimed King

The young king was only twelve years of age when his father died. It was necessary, therefore, to arrange for the government and for a Protector to be named. There were three distinct parties in the Court at the end of Edward IV.'s reign, though he had managed to keep them united. His death removed the only bond of union between them. There was a short struggle for supremacy, and victory fell to those who were quickest to move.

(1) The Wydviles, though holding high places at Court, and possessing lands and money, were not popular. They were regarded as "*novi homines*" by the old nobility, and had done nothing to win the respect of the country at large. The Queen's brothers, Lord Rivers, Edward and Richard Wydville, and her sons by her first marriage, the Marquis of Dorset and Sir Richard Grey, were only influential as long as Edward IV. lived. (2) The Lords of the Council, who might have obtained the supremacy, were divided between mistrust of the Wydviles and allegiance to the House of York. Lord Stanley, Hastings, and Bishop Morton, were the chief members of the Council, and each played an important part in after events. (3) The third party was that of the old nobility who could for the most part claim a lineage equal to the royal house, and had wealth scarcely less. They hated the Wydviles who had caused their exclusion from power. The most prominent of this party were Stafford of Buckingham, and the Earls of Northumberland and Suffolk.

Richard of Gloucester, the king's uncle, stood apart from all parties. Whether he now quickly decided upon the course he took, or whether it was the result of a life's ambition, can never actually be proved. At any rate he saw his way soonest and pursued it boldly, unscrupulously using any means, and ruthlessly sweeping away any obstacle. Events moved quickly, and in less than three months he was king of England.

1. The parties at Court.

(Stubbs iii. 226.)

1. Wydviles.

2. Lords of the Council.

3. Old nobility.

4. Richard Duke of Gloster.

11. Events leading to Gloucester's supremacy.

At Edward IV.'s death, the duke was in Yorkshire, the Queen and Council in London, and the young King with Lord Rivers and Sir Richard Grey at Ludlow. The question of the King's guardianship arose at once. The Queen wished her family to remain supreme, and to enforce her claim Dorset seized the Treasury, and Edward Wydville the Fleet. On the other hand, Hastings wanted the Council to rule England with Gloucester as Protector. Lord Rivers and Grey at once set out for London, bringing the king with them. Gloucester also came. The latter met Buckingham on the way and arranged the course of subsequent events. The King from Stony Stratford sent his uncles to meet the dukes, who at once boldly arrested them on a charge of treason. Then, seizing the King, they marched on London. The news caused Dorset and Edward Wydville to fly, while the Queen and her second son took sanctuary at Westminster.

1. Attack on Wyd-villes.

2. Attack on Council.

(Stubbs iii. 229.)

The Council, led by Hastings and possibly compelled by Richard, elected the latter Protector. His supporters, Buckingham and others, were rewarded with offices, and London was filled with his retainers. Suddenly Hastings was arrested and beheaded, Morton was thrown into prison, and the Duke of York was taken into his uncle's charge. He and his brother the King were placed in the Tower of London. The Wydviles had been crushed and the Council overawed.

3. Attack on Edward V.'s title.

(Stubbs iii. 230.)

Nine days later Dr. Shaw in a sermon from S. Paul's Cross asserted Richard's right to the throne, whilst Buckingham did the same in the city. Edward IV.'s marriage was declared to have been due to sorcery. It was stated that he had been betrothed to Lady Eleanor Butler before his marriage with Elizabeth Grey, and betrothal in mediæval times had scarcely less weight than actual marriage. Therefore, it was argued, the children of his marriage were illegitimate, and, as the children of the ill-fated Clarence were attainted by their father's treason, Richard remained the sole heir to the throne.

4. Attack on London.

Neither the people nor the city dignitaries received his claim with enthusiasm, but the presence of a large armed force prevented any opposition and probably enforced obedience. Some of the Lords and Commons waited on Richard at Baynard's Castle and asked him to accept the crown. This of course he did, and, on the 26th June, 1483, presided over Parliament as the hereditary and elected King. The same day Rivers and Grey were executed at Pontefract and the little princes disappeared.

5. Richard proclaimed king.

RICHARD III. 1483—1485.

THE LAST ACT OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

- i. *Richard III.'s Character*
- ii. *Buckingham's Rebellion* 1483
 - a. Buckingham's position
 - b. His claim to Estates refused
 - c. Intrigues with Lancastrians
 - d. Failure of the Rising : 'Buckingham's Flood'
 - e. Execution of Buckingham 1483
- iii. *Richard's attempts to strengthen his position*
 1. Parliament
 2. Foreign Policy
 3. Home Policy
 4. Marriage proposal
- iv. *Henry (VII.)'s Invasion* : Battle of Bosworth 1485 (Lancastrian victory)

The new King was the youngest brother of Edward IV. He was a typical product of his age. It has been customary to describe him as exceptionally wicked, but tested by his contemporaries he was no worse than they. Like so many of them, he had ability without principle. He was an able statesman, and a courageous general. From his earliest years he had spent his life fighting for the cause of York. He had become renowned in the skirmishes so common in the Civil War. At Barnet he handled his troops with skill against the great Warwick. He never deserted his brother like Clarence though he took care to enlarge his fortune by marrying Anne Neville. He showed he had the courage of his opinions when he openly protested against the Peace of Pecquigny (see page 133). His murders of Edward of Wales, Henry VI., and Clarence are only traditions, though the disappearance of the young princes must be laid to his charge, just as Henry IV. can never be acquitted of Richard II.'s death. He had ability and popularity, though he never succeeded in inspiring confidence, and he was relentlessly cruel in securing his ends. He was certainly no worse than Edward IV., but his reputation suffered at the hands of both Lancastrians and Yorkists.

i. Character of Richard III.

(Stubbs iii. 231)

(Henry VI., pt. iii. v. 5 & 6; Richard III. i. 4.)

The new king was crowned, and having rewarded Buckingham, Howard, and Percy, he set out on a royal progress through the country. In the north he was received with favour. But in the south the news of the death of the princes caused uneasiness and unrest. This soon took a more serious shape. The Duke of Buckingham was not only the representative of the younger branch of the Beaufort line from John

ii. Buckingham's rebellion.

(Stubbs iii. 233.)

a. Buckingham's position.

of Gaunt (see Table on p. 115) but his position, influence, wealth, and the part he had taken in placing Richard on the throne, made him a dangerous supporter. He was in a position like that of Percy to Henry IV. or Warwick to Edward IV. He now claimed the estates of Hereford. Though his claim was sound, policy forbade the King to grant it and a coolness sprang up between them. Counting on Buckingham's disappointment, Morton of Ely (see page 135) conceived a great scheme by which Richard should be overthrown. Henry of Richmond, who was the most direct representative of John of Gaunt and the Lancastrians, being the son of Margaret Beaufort, ("the Lady Margaret,") was asked to invade England. He had been in Brittany since the battle of Tewkesbury. His invasion was to be the signal for many risings, the chief of which was to be headed by Buckingham. Success was to be crowned by the marriage of Henry and Elizabeth, Edward IV.'s eldest daughter, which was to secure the union of the rival Houses.

b, His claim to estates refused. (Gairdner's *H. vii.*, 9.)

c, Intrigues with Lancastrians.

(for Table cf. p. 115.)

d, Failure.

"Buckingham's Flood."

e, Execution of Buckingham, 1483.

III. Attempts to strengthen his position.

1. Parliament.

(for Table cf. p. 127.)

2. Foreign policy.

(*Stubbs iii.*, 237.)

3. Home policy.

As usual the plan was ruined by the lack of connection between the risings. There were risings for Henry in Kent, Berkshire, and Wiltshire. Buckingham moved from Brecknock. But Richard was already advised of the conspiracy. The duke was checked by floods in his endeavour to cross the Severn, a general pardon was offered to the commons, and enormous prices were set on the heads of their leaders. Bad weather and lack of provisions soon scattered Buckingham's forces, whilst the great rewards brought about the betrayal of their leader. He was at once executed. The rebellion immediately subsided. The other leaders escaped abroad, and Henry, arriving too late, left again for Brittany on hearing of Richard's success.

For a brief year and a half England was quiet. It was but the interlude of peace between two storms. The King tried to strengthen his position, but the good fortune which had attended Edward IV. deserted Richard. The Parliament, which met on the conclusion of the rebellion, confirmed his title and that of his son Edward, and attainted Henry of Lancaster and all his followers. Benevolences were declared to be abolished, for they had soon proved to be a great abuse. But the young heir-apparent died, so John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, was named as heir-presumptive. By an agreement with Brittany Henry was driven to take refuge in France, whilst the recognition of the Pope was sought by Richard. At home the King's success in raising a fleet which beat the Scots gave him a short-lived popularity. To increase this he disafforested some of the royal estates, whilst Elizabeth the late Queen and her five daughters were given assurances of safety. Recognising how great would be the danger of a

marriage-union between Lancaster and York, Richard went to incredible lengths. He knew a marriage was planned between Henry of Lancaster and Elizabeth of York and it is asserted that he proposed to marry his own niece in order to prevent such a catastrophe. 4. Marriage proposal

In spite of a successful foreign policy and a submissive Parliament threats of a foreign invasion were never absent. Henry was making great exertions. His friends abroad were few and powerless, but he knew that at home he could rely on open and secret aid. He accordingly determined to try his fortune there, and landed at Milford Haven in South Wales with but few followers. The inhabitants were in his favour for it was the country of his birth. His adherents soon increased in numbers and he advanced to Shrewsbury. Meantime, Richard, suspicious of the Stanleys, who were closely connected with Henry, tried to ensure their loyalty by taking Lord Stanley's son as a hostage. He thus thoroughly alienated them, though they dared not desert him as yet. Richard advanced from Nottingham to meet his foe. IV. Henry's Invasion, 1485.

They met at Bosworth. The King had about double the force of Henry but his troops were filled with treachery and disheartened by distrust. This was shown in the mysterious warning which the Duke of Norfolk found fixed to his tent the night before the battle, Battle of Bosworth 1485.
(Stubbs iii. 239.)

*Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold.*

Lord Stanley with his men and his brother Sir William Stanley kept at a distance from both armies, waiting a favourable opportunity to join Henry. After a shower of arrows the battle became a hand to hand struggle, and the Royalists were driven back. By superhuman efforts Richard tried to retrieve the day and almost killed his rival in a personal encounter. At that moment the Stanleys joined Henry. Norfolk was killed, realising that his warning was all too true. Richard fell overpowered by numbers, whilst Henry was crowned on the field by Stanley. It was the last battle of the war, the last tragedy of a series of revolutions. Richard reaped the results of his own suspicious nature and vindictiveness, which led him to distrust everyone, and so to alienate everyone.

(*Sidney Lee* Lect. 1;
Barnard 316—20,
 325—6; *Green* 295
 —299, 303—319.
Saebohm, *Oxf. Re-*
formers; *Swift* 19
 —27, *Trench* Lect.
 26.)

THE RENAISSANCE OR REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

- i. *Invention of Printing*
 - a. Caxton as a printer
 - b. as a translator
 - c. as a writer
 - d. His Patrons
- ii. *Fall of Constantinople* helps diffusion of learning
 1. In Europe
 2. In England
 - a. Colet
 - b. Erasmus
 - c. More
- iii. *Geographical Discoveries*

The Tudor dynasty which the victory of Bosworth placed in power, was in many respects the most glorious in English history. It saw not only the settlement of law and order, the definite throwing off of Popish control, the rise of the country to the position of a first-class power, and the growth of a strong National spirit, but also the spread of education and the widening of men's minds. Even in the unsettled times of Civil War the seeds of the new influence had been sown, and came to full harvest in the outburst of poets' song and the sea-dogs' daring of the Elizabethan era. The events which chiefly caused the revival of learning were three :

c 1440.
 1453.
 1490—1500.

(1) The invention of Printing.

(2) The fall of Constantinople.

(3) The discoveries of fresh sea-routes and of the New World.

All these went far to extend the mental as well as the natural horizon, and quickened the curiosity of the civilized world.

1. Printing.

Green pp. 295—299;
Barnard 325—6.)

a, Caxton.
 As a Printer.

1477.

The return of Caxton in Edward IV.'s reign after thirty years sojourn in Flanders marked a new epoch in English literature. He was originally a copyist, but had been induced by weariness of hand and eye to learn the new art of printing which had been introduced into Bruges. He set up his press at the Almonry in Westminster Abbey, and soon found customers, laymen as well as priests, for his issues appealed to all classes of men. He was careful to put into print the earliest efforts of English poets. The works of Lydgate, Gower, and "that worshipful man, Geoffrey Chaucer," were the first-fruits of his labours.

Caxton was much more than an ordinary printer, though even in that capacity English literature owes him much. But the debt to him as a translator is incalculable. The fact that he translated from the French the works of "that noble poet and great clerk, *Vergyl*," was not in itself important. But by translation into English Caxton went far to determine

b, As a translator.

c, As a writer.

the choice of English as it was in future ages to be written and spoken. He had to decide not only between French affectation and English pedantry, but also between the various country dialects. The choice he made did much to settle what the English language should be.

The general support given him urged Caxton to face and surmount these difficulties. "The Almonry at the Red Pale" became the meeting place of the great and cultured. Kings gave him their support and the nobles of the rival parties encouraged and helped him. Tiptoft, infamous for ingenious tortures, was famous for learning and culture. Rivers, Edward IV.'s favourite, was a scholar of no mean order. Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII. all had books printed at their command. The new art enabled books to be more readily multiplied. Thus Caxton, printer, translator, and writer, did much to pave the way for the New Learning in England.

The capture of Constantinople in 1453 had driven scholarship, especially Greek scholarship, westwards. The city which for so long had jealously guarded its wealth of ancient learning left it now as a legacy to Europe, especially to Italy. Scholars flocked to Italy to study Greek. The enthusiasm was so widespread that hardly a country was unrepresented. In the west culture had become barren, and knowledge stationary, but the advent of original manuscripts and new interpreters had a wide-reaching effect. Men began to feel a keen spirit of criticism, which extended even to Christianity, and to take more interest in human studies (hence their name of "Humanists") than in theology.

Grocyn and Linacre of Oxford were among the first Englishmen to study the New Learning in Italy, and their return to their University marked a new era in English scholarship. In England Papal influence had been weaker and clerical decline less noticeable than abroad, and the revival of letters took, mainly, a religious form in England whereas in Europe it tended towards mysticism and infidelity. To Colet, who became Dean of S. Paul's, the sole reason for the study of Greek was to grasp the full meaning of the New Testament, which mediæval traditions and allegories had obscured. In founding S. Paul's School he aimed at the high and true ideal of combining sound religion and good learning. His wide scholarship and personal character gathered round him a notable group of whom Erasmus and More were pre-eminent. In fact the former became even more renowned than his teacher. His great work was an edition of the Greek Testament, which incorporated the results of the New Learning. But he was also well known for his *Praise of Folly*, a bold satire on contemporary life, and *The Institutions*, which contained many of the senti-

d, His patrons.
(Green 298.)

ii. Fall of Constantinople.
a. helps diffusion of learning.
1. In Europe.
(George Eliot's *Romola* ch. 7 & 39.)

2. In England.
" 1491
a. Colet (1468-1519.)
(Green 304-7.
Wakeman 193-195.)

(Barnard 319; Green 308.)

b, Erasmus
1467-1536.
(Green 305-314.)

- ments which More had already expressed in *Utopia*. He was for a time Lecturer in Greek at Cambridge, and, with Colet, made the two great Universities of England so enthusiastic that "students rushed to Greek letters, endured watching, fasting, toil and hunger, in pursuit of them." More applied his originality and depth of thought to statesmanship and literature. His reputation was European. He became Chancellor on Wolsey's fall in 1529, but resigned in 1532 because he could not follow Henry VIII. in all his changes.
- c, More 1478-1535.)
(Green 314-319.)
- (Gairdner's *Hist.*
96-124.)
- (Green 298, 307,
310, 313.)
- (Sidney Lee 19.)
- In 1535 he was executed for refusing to swear to the Act of Succession. He wrote a *History of Richard III.*, but his best-known work was *Utopia* (1516). This was a description of an imaginary and ideal Commonwealth, in which he satirised many of the evils of his time and indirectly suggested remedies. The whole conception was remarkably advanced and original both in social, political, educational, and religious matters. Besides these leaders of thought, there were many others who were equally enthusiastic. The Lady Margaret, Henry VII.'s mother, founded two colleges at Cambridge. The higher Clergy were patrons of learning. Cardinal Morton, Archbishop Warham, Langton of Winchester, Latimer and Fox, all spent time and substance in furthering the cause, and we shall see that Henry VIII. and Wolsey were warm supporters of it.

- III. Geographical Discoveries.
- (Green p. 237.)
- 1492.
- c. 1500.
- 1497.
- 1497.
- With the widening of human thought came the extension of geographical bounds. The world was doubled in size. From the countries of Spain and Portugal first came the most intrepid seamen, the most enthusiastic discoverers. England followed later. Columbus, sent out by Spain, tried to discover a short passage to India by the West, and reached what is now known as the West Indies. Amerigo Vespucci, a Portuguese, touched at Brazil, whilst Vasco da Gama from Portugal successfully sailed round the south of Africa and reached India. Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol, landed in Labrador, being helped by Spain and also by England (Henry VII.) which was just beginning to take that interest in geographical discoveries which was later to lay the foundation of her worldwide Colonial Empire.

IRELAND IN THE XV. CENTURY.

- (Froude's English
in
Ireland. Green
p. 442.)
- The "Conquest of Ireland," had never been completely carried out. Its partial nature only added to the confusion and disorder which, through tribal feuds and national customs, were the natural condition in Ireland. The country was divided into three districts :

- i. *The Pale*, an ill-defined district round Dublin, where English officials had some power, and English laws generally prevailed.

2. The district next to the *Pale* (especially in Leinster and Munster) where Norman settlers (now called the Englishry) had become half Irish in language and customs. Though nominally owning allegiance to England, the extent of their loyalty may be seen from the usual designation which was applied to them, viz : "the King's Irish Rebels." The chief families were the Butlers, Geraldines, and Bourkes.
3. *The native Irishry*, etc., i.e. the rest of Ireland (especially Ulster and Connaught), where the Conquest had never been enforced at all, and the old tribal customs prevailed in full force. These all tended to disorder and tribal warfare, and the only bond of union which was ever found at all effective was hostility to England. The O'Niels of Tyrone and the O'Donnells of Donegal were the most important of the native Irishry, who were commonly termed "the King's Irish enemies."

Richard II. was absent on a vain and fruitless expedition to Ireland when Bolingbroke landed in England (1399), and no further attempt to bring order to Ireland was made for many years.

No opportunity was lost by the Irish to harrass England, and the Yorkists, as hostile to the reigning house, were inevitably popular in Ireland. Richard of York (1450) won some popularity as Governor, and in 1459, after the Rout of Ludford, he fled thither for safety. The Irish Parliament took the opportunity of asserting its independence of England, gaining his support by upholding the Yorkist claims. During these years the only way by which the English Government ever tried to keep Ireland in subjection was by the vicious plan of playing off one tribe against another, with the unfailing result of increasing disorder.

HENRY VII. 1485—1509.

I. THE "NEW MONARCHY."

- i. *Henry VII.*
 - a. His descent
 - b. Character
 - c. His work
 - d. Characteristics of the reign : its importance ; yet uninteresting because of its transitional nature
- ii. *Political condition of England* made for the power of the Crown at the expense of all parties
 1. Clergy
 2. Baronage
 3. Commons
 4. General causes of the strength of the Tudors
- iii. *Settlement of the Succession* : Henry VII's title
- iv. "Quenching of the Embers of the Wars of the Roses"
 - a. Sources of difficulty
 - b. Yorkist Risings
 1. Lovel, 1486
 2. Lambert Simnel 1487
 3. Perkin Warbeck 1492—99
 - a. Its origin
 - b. Warbeck in Ireland
 - c. in France : Treaty of Estaples 1492
 - d. Warbeck in Flanders
 - e. English supporters
 - f. Warbeck in Scotland
 - g. Magnus Intercursus 1496
 - h. Warbeck lands in England 1497
 - i. His execution 1499
 - c. De la Poles : Malus Intercursus 1506

(cf. Gairdner's *Henry VII.* ; Stubbs' *Lectures* 15 & 16 ; Moberley's *Early Tudors.*)

i. Henry VII.

a His descent (cf. Table on p. 115)

b, Character.

The new King was descended from John of Gaunt, Edward III.'s third son, in two lines. His father, Edmund Tudor, who could trace descent through the family of Lancaster, had married the representative of the family of Somerset, the Lady Margaret Beaufort.

His character, like his reign, possesses few attractions. He had been schooled in adversity, having been driven abroad in his childhood by the attainder of his family ; and he only returned to his native land when he came to gain the throne. This he won mainly by reason of the fact that Richard's tyrannies had made any deliverer welcome. Henry was cold and calculating, not caring for popular affection and knowing well that he was only accepted King for the want of a better. He was clear-sighted and wise, willing to wait while there was any chance of reconciliation, but ruthless when vengeance appeared necessary and possible. His very virtues were merely negative. He was sober and temperate, a frugal king

where his predecessors for three centuries had been spendthrifts. Yet he had no desire to rise to anything high or noble. His one object was to hold what he had gained, without caring much about the means he used. He employed good ministers if he could find them, but if men like Empson and Dudley seemed more profitable he did not scruple to use them.

Thus he remains something of an enigma, and failed to be a great king though he accomplished much. (1) He reigned a quarter of a century in an age of bloodshed without a single important war. (2) He united forces which had been struggling for a hundred years. (3) He found England poor and weak, drenched with blood and feebly ruled, and left it influential abroad and settled at home.

Similarly his reign is singularly uninteresting in spite of much that should make it attractive. It is important, for it was the connecting link between the Wars of the Roses and the Reformation, between England isolated in Europe and England courted by all States in turn, between England weak and England strong, between England ancient and England modern. It saw Caxton and his followers active with the newly-invented printing press; it saw the Revival of Learning; it saw the discovery of a New World; it saw an unexampled development of commercial enterprise. It saw the beginning of modern as distinguished from mediæval history, it saw the present States-system of Europe taking shape and the present methods of statesmanship beginning. It saw the eve of the Reformation.

Yet it is a period which fails to attract. The reason is that it stands midway between what had gone before and what was to come, partaking of the interest of neither. As a man who stands on two stools is likely to fall between them, so the reign of Henry VII. fails to attract because it possesses neither the interest of the old days nor of the new.

The reign may be divided almost exactly between the influences of the period which went before and those of the time which followed. The earlier half saw the working out to the bitter end of the party quarrels and murders which had begun when Warwick and Lancaster had murdered Gaveston, and which only ended with the deaths of Edward of Warwick and the De la Poles. The later half saw the beginning of statecraft and policy which (1) gave England its due place in Europe and (2) raised the Commons to power as the supporters of the Crown against both Clergy and Baronage.

Everything tended to the exaltation of the Crown, and out of the depression of all rivals was built up the "New Monarchy" of the Tudors.

The Clergy were weak in their isolation. (1) Through their connection with the Baronage they were weakened by the

c, His work.

d, Characteristics of the reign; its importance.

yet uninteresting.

because of its transitional nature.

11. Political condition of England made for power of crown at expense of all parties; (*Green 290-292.*)

1. Clergy.

(Stubbs 301; Wake-
man ch. 9.)

(Gairdner's Hist. 2.)

wars of the Roses. (2) The New Learning was teaching men to think for themselves instead of being content to take for granted all that their forefathers had held. (3) The higher clergy had so long been employed in high offices of state that they often forgot they were anything more than state officials. The practice of choosing ministers of state from the ranks of the Clergy and of rewarding ministers of state by clerical preferments, had the effect of secularising the power which should have been, first of all, moral and spiritual. The Church, weakened and depressed, was glad to sit at the foot of the Monarchy, which soon was to trample upon it.

2. Baronage.

The Baronage was hopelessly exhausted, in power, purse, and numbers, by the Wars of the Roses, and by the party quarrels which had caused them. At Henry's accession there were only 29 Barons of age sufficient to be called to Parliament. Many great families had disappeared entirely. The result was that the Crown was freed from its old check, while the Commons lost their old leaders. The constitutional powers of the House of Lords were almost extinguished, passing to the King as the one authority which was strong enough to wield them. He exercised them through a Royal Council, or Councils, appointed by himself; and even great magnates had to be content with a place in such a Council, obtained by *favour*, instead of occupying in the House of Lords the great and independent position which was theirs by *right*.

3. Commons.

There remained the Commons. These also were too weak to be a serious rival to the New Monarchy as yet. They had lost their old leaders the Barons. They were not really represented in Parliament, and Parliament, so important under the Lancastrian Kings, had almost ceased to be summoned under the Yorkists. Frightened by the horrors of Civil War they were glad to sacrifice for the sake of peace and good government the political rights they had gained.

Growing in impor-
tance.

But they were growing stronger. Increasing trade was making them richer and so more influential. The Tudor Policy was to strengthen them, and to lean on them for support. It succeeded for a time, and produced the "Tudor Absolutism;" but, later, the Commons were to prove a far more fatal rival to the Crown than either of the other estates had ever been.

4. General causes of
strength of Tudors.

Other causes which contributed to the strength of the Tudors were :

1. The people were willing to have a strong Monarchy to prevent a renewal of disorder, and to enable Trade to progress.
2. The earlier tendency of the Renaissance was to exalt the royal power.
3. The introduction of Gunpowder and Artillery made

opposition more difficult as it lessened the value of retainers.

4. The need of presenting a united front to foreign powers, (especially, after the Reformation had begun, to powers which supported the Papacy) made a strong Monarchy necessary.
5. The Tudor title was, as a rule, unquestioned. The only two Tudors who were faced with rival claimants were Henry VII. and Elizabeth.

Henry VII. checkmated rivals by diplomacy.

Elizabeth checkmated rivals by throwing herself on her people's loyalty, and by carefully avoiding entangling herself in questions of her marriage or of the Succession.

6. The personal character of most of the Tudors—strong, sensible, and remarkably successful in the choice of capable ministers and in impressing their own wills on them—immensely strengthened the royal power.

It was said that the first half of the reign saw the working out of the influences which remained from the past. The immediate need of the nation was the settlement of the succession as the guarantee that there should be no more Wars of the Roses. To that Henry's first measures were directed. In his first Address to Parliament, in November 1485, he declared he had come to the throne (1) by just title of inheritance, and (2) by the true judgment of God in giving him the victory. Parliament accepted him and (3) passed a Statute declaring the fact. In the hope of making assurance doubly sure (4) he was married to Elizabeth of York in the next January.

III. Settlement of the succession

Henry's title.

But roots of bitterness remained, as was inevitable. (1) Margaret of Burgundy, Edward IV.'s sister, was ready to do or say anything for the sake of revenge. (2) The son of Clarence, Warwick, though a prisoner in the King's hands, had a good title to the crown. (3) The eldest of the De la Poles, sons of the Duke of Suffolk by Elizabeth of York, another of Edward IV.'s sisters, had been declared by Richard III. to be heir-presumptive. (4) The fate of Edward V. and his brother Richard was still uncertain. All these were elements of difficulty if not of danger, and, besides, (5) Henry could hardly avoid showing a natural preference for Lancastrians over Yorkists.

IV. "Quenching of the Embers of the Wars of the Roses."

(a), Sources of difficulty.

Consequently there was a series of risings by (6) the unreconciled Yorkist remnant, each increasing in peril and each unprincipled and desperate.

The first was a mere intrigue. In April 1486 Lord Lovel (b), Yorkist risings rose in Worcestershire, with Humfrey and Thomas Stafford. The King looked upon it as "a mere rag of Bosworth" and it collapsed before his offer of pardon. Humfrey Stafford alone was executed; his brother was forgiven.

1. Lovel, 1486.

2. Lambert Simnel, 1487. Lovel fled to Margaret where he showed his unprincipled nature by planning the rising of Lambert Simnel, setting him forth as Edward Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence. Although it was well known that Warwick was in the Tower and that Simnel was the son of an Oxford organ-maker, the imposter was received in Ireland and crowned in Dublin. Margaret of course gave her help, the Earl of Lincoln joined, and the desperate party landed in Lancashire, to be defeated at Stoke near Newark. John de la Pole was killed on the field, Lovel disappeared, and Simnel, the innocent dupe, was treated by Henry with the contempt he deserved and was made a scullion in the royal kitchen.
- (Gairdner 53.)
3. Perkin Warbeck, 1492-99. Next occurred the rising of Perkin Warbeck, which came near to being a great tragedy. It caused seven years of disturbance and intrigue, and brought Henry considerable anxiety.
- a. Its origin. The plotters showed more wisdom this time, both in their choice of a claimant and in the nature of his claim. Perkin Warbeck had been carefully educated, it is said by the Duchess Margaret herself on purpose for this rising. Obscurity hung over the fate of the young princes in the Tower, and Warbeck was announced as Richard of York, who was asserted to have escaped when his brother was murdered. Through a long course of intrigue he obtained considerable success, and to this day there are some who support his genuineness.
- b. Warbeck in Ireland. As usual he first went to Ireland, where even the most extravagant cause was sure to find support. From there he crossed to France, where also there were sufficient enemies of England to make him sure of a welcome. There for the first time he encountered the new diplomacy (see below, page 150).
- c. Warbeck in France. The French Monarchy had long been seeking to complete the union of France. Most of the States had been absorbed except Brittany, and Charles VIII. of France was now seeking to win over that country by a marriage with the Duchess. England perceived that the result would be a great increase of strength to its hereditary enemy, and Henry was bound by gratitude (for Brittany had been his home in exile), and also by promises, to prevent the Duchy from being absorbed. When at last it was absorbed in spite of his efforts he declared war against Charles VIII. But he speedily allowed himself to be bought off, and in the Treaty of Estaples England agreed to the unification of France. Charles also engaged that Warbeck should be expelled.
- (George 157-161.)
- 1491.
- T. of Estaples, 1492.

The Treaty of Estaples is important for two reasons :

1. It marked the first entrance of England into Continental Politics ;
2. It marked the end of the ideas which had caused and carried on the Hundred Years War. The Kings of England still quartered the French lilies on their

Standard, and called themselves Kings of France (till the reign of George III.) But there was no longer any idea of attaching serious importance to this. England and France had long been separate States, and this was now formally recognised

Warbeck went to Flanders, and intrigues continued. Several Yorkists were implicated in 1494 and were executed. In 1495 even Sir William Stanley, one of Henry's ablest supporters in the campaign of Bosworth, dissatisfied with the rewards he had received, entangled himself in Warbeck's schemes and was executed.

d, Warbeck in Flanders.

e, English supporters

Warbeck grew more daring, or more desperate. He went to Scotland where he was warmly welcomed and married to the King's cousin. He took part in a Border Raid, but Henry again secured his expulsion by Treaty.

f, Warbeck in Scotland 1496.

Henry had already destroyed Margaret's support by making with Maximilian of Burgundy, her son-in-law, the *Magnus Intercursus*, or Great Intercourse. This was a Treaty intended to secure freedom of trade between England and Maximilian's dominions, which included the Netherlands, and it comprised the inevitable bargain for the expulsion of Warbeck.

g, Magnus Intercursus 1496.

Warbeck and his fellow-plotters felt the ground was being cut from under their feet. No refuge would soon be left to them. A rising in Cornwall, provoked by taxation, pointed out the part of England where, if anywhere, adherents might be found. Accordingly in September 1497, Warbeck landed at Penzance and pushed to Taunton. He was speedily put to flight. He took refuge at Beaulieu Abbey, and in October was surrendered to the King. Henry was inclined to spare him, but his escape from the Tower and recapture, and his further entanglement in a plot to release the Earl of Warwick, ended in the execution of both in November 1499.

h, Warbeck in England 1497.

i, His execution.

1499.

After the extinction of these two, "the false and the true competitors," the King had only the De la Poles to fear. The eldest survivor of these, Edmund, left England in 1501, and, settling at Margaret's Court, became "the dynastic bugbear" of the rest of the reign. He was never really dangerous, and when in 1506 the Archduke Philip, Maximilian's successor, was driven by stress of weather into an English port, Henry took advantage of the opportunity to revise the *Magnus Intercursus* in such a way as to include the surrender of De la Pole. Philip agreed on the understanding that Edmund's life should be spared. The promise was kept as long as Henry lived, but Henry's son broke it in 1513 when he found Edmund's brother, Richard, fighting in the French army against him.

(c), De la Poles.

Malus Intercursus. 1506.

The revision of the Treaty also included a modification of the commercial articles in favour of England, which led the Flemings to call the new agreement a *Malus Intercursus*.

2. HENRY VII.'s POLICY.

i. *Foreign Policy*

a. Rise of Idea of 'Balance of Power,' and of Diplomacy

b. Henry's foreign relations

1. France
2. Emperor
3. Spain
4. Scotland

ii. *Henry's Home Policy*

1. 'Star Chamber' to check Barons
2. Statute of Fines (1489) to end confusion
3. Statute of Treasons (1495) to encourage loyalty
4. Parliament little used
5. Henry's accumulation of Treasure: "Morton's Fork": Was Henry avaricious?

iii. *Ireland*: Poynings Act 1495

With the downfall of Perkin Warbeck and the execution of Warwick all serious danger to Henry's throne was removed. The long party quarrels had worked themselves out, and Henry was free to turn his attention to other matters. In the later portion of his reign, accordingly, we see how he prepared England for taking her part in European politics. The negotiations are tedious and tiresome, not because they are unimportant but "because they go on without crises and without issues, like a game of chess which has a charm only for an expert."

i. *Foreign Policy.*

a. Rise of idea of 'Balance of Power,'

The stage of Europe was no longer dominated by one actor. The decline of the Empire left it open for others. Accordingly we see the rise of the idea of the Balance of Power: it was recognised that the various States of Europe all had their parts to play. This was first acted upon when each of them promised to help in preventing Brittany from being absorbed.

and of Diplomacy.

Then also began the use of Diplomacy, when questions were settled not merely by force of arms but by political scheming and intriguing. The figure of a game of chess to describe European politics is again appropriate.

b. Henry's foreign relations.

1. Relations with France.

We have seen how England first stepped on the European Stage in the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Estaples with France. The *Magnus Intercursus* with the Emperor has also been mentioned. It remains to notice Henry's dealings with Spain, the other great State of Europe.

2. Emperor.

3. Spain.

Henry desired an alliance with that country because of Spain's rising power. Spain desired an alliance so as to gain English help in checking France. One had been made in 1489 for the defence of Brittany, and a marriage had then been suggested between Arthur, Henry's eldest son, and the Princess Katharine of Aragon. The marriage was concluded in 1501, and on Arthur's death next year the scheme for the marriage of

his widow with Henry, Arthur's brother, which was to have such tremendous results, was set on foot.

In 1503 Henry married his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland. 4. Scotland.
(Gairdner 183.)

It remains to notice the measures which Henry took for the settlement of England. The most crying want, after the years of confusion and bloodshed, was peace and order. One of the worst dangers to order had been the lawlessness of the great Barons, who had often been powerful enough to set the ordinary Courts at defiance. Henry accordingly appointed a Committee of the Royal Council, a favourite plan of the Tudors, (cf. above, page 146) to act where the ordinary Law Courts were ineffectual. This ultimately, and gradually, merged into the Court of Star Chamber. 11. Henry's home policy.

1. 'Star Chamber, to check Barons.

A second great cause of confusion had been the uncertainty into which years of disturbance, violence, forfeiture, and attainders had thrown landed property. The result had been endless lawsuits and, often, sanguinary quarrels. Stability and order were now given by the Statute of Fines, which enacted that a title announced in and allowed by a Court of Law should put an end (*finis*) to all uncertainty. 2. St. of Fines to end confusion.

1589.

A third measure which was intended to serve the same purpose of bringing order and stability was the Statute of Treasons. It enacted that no one serving the King *de facto* (i.e., the King who was in actual possession of the throne), should be liable to punishment for such support in case the King *de jure* (i.e., the rightful King, who might be kept out of his own), should return to power. 3. St. of Treasons, to encourage loyalty.

1495.

This exhausts most of the Parliamentary history of the reign, for Henry rarely called Parliament except when he was in need of money, and this was seldom. For not only was he economical and careful, but he found other methods of accumulating the treasure which he left to his son, and which has caused him to be called avaricious. Such were (1) the revival of Benevolences, in fact if not in name, in the collection of which Cardinal Morton gained for himself notoriety by the dilemma in which he is said to have placed all from whom he sought help. If they were living extravagantly they could obviously give out of their evident abundance: if they were living economically they could obviously give out of their savings. Others who incurred dislike more deservedly were (2) Empson and Dudley, two unprincipled officials who left a hated name for their systematic extortions. (3) The Fines in Courts of Law also went to the royal treasury, and they were sometimes more than questionable. A law forbidding the granting of liveries to retainers was used as the excuse for inflicting an enormous fine on the Earl of Oxford when he welcomed the King with all his servants dressed in the family livery. It was said too that 4. Parliament little used.

5. Henry's accumulation of Treasure.

'Morton's Fork.'

(4) the large supplies voted for the expedition against France in 1492 went mainly into Henry's treasury, and (5) the proceeds of the early forfeitures in his reign certainly did so.

Was Henry
avaricious?

There is no doubt he accumulated a very large sum in the course of his reign, though whether it was mere avarice which prompted him to do so is more than questionable. He had been poor, and he knew that poverty and want of economy had helped to ruin the House of Lancaster. He realised from the first that he must save in order to maintain himself, and when he had begun to save, not only did the love of money increase as the money itself accumulated, but he found it pleasant to be able to carry on the government without being constantly dependent on Parliament for supplies.

III. Ireland.

(Gairdner's *Henry VII.*, ch. 8.)

Poyning's Act, 1495.

The constitutional history of England does not show any advance in this reign, indeed in almost every sense it shows a retrogression : Parliament not only did not exercise any of the powers it possessed but it was virtually superseded by the Royal Council (cf. above page 146). In Ireland an Act was passed which entirely destroyed all the Irish Parliament's power. By "Poyning's Act," so called because it was passed by the influence of Sir Edward Poyning, Lord Deputy of Ireland, no law could be passed by the Irish Parliament till it had previously received the approval of the English Council. This extraordinary Act remained in force for nearly three centuries, *i.e.*, for most of the time during which Ireland had a separate Parliament. Such a law is obviously quite inconsistent with Constitutional Government, but the Act provided an effective means for keeping Irish laws in harmony with those of England.

HENRY VIII. 1509—1547.

I. EARLY YEARS OF THE REIGN.

i. *Henry's strong position*

1. His advantages
 - a. Personal
 - b. His popularity
 - c. His inherited treasure
 - d. The Nobles were weak
 - e. England was at peace
2. Dangers in his character

ii. *Foreign Affairs*

1. Pope forms League of Cambrai against Venice 1509
2. Then "Holy League" against France 1511: Self-interest is the general motive: Battle of Guinegate (Spurs) 1513
3. Wolsey extricates England and secures peace
 - a. The French Marriage 1514
 - b. Battle of Flodden Field 1513

iii. *Thomas Wolsey*

1. Early life
2. His honours and offices
3. His Domestic Policy
 - a. Supported Royal Absolutism
 - b. Patron of learning
4. His Foreign Policy: England's peaceable influence in Europe
 - a. France seeks English Alliance: Field of the Cloth of Gold 1520
 - b. Spain obtains it
 - c. War with France
 - d. Wolsey again secures peace
5. His Ecclesiastical Policy: Conservative and reverent Reform instead of rash and dangerous Revolution
 - a. Monastic Reform
 - b. His aims at the Papacy

iv. *Wolsey's Fall*

- a. Reform interrupted by the Divorce question
 1. Henry applies to the Pope to annul his marriage 1527
 2. The Pope's dilemma
 3. He tries to avoid a decision
 4. Appoints a Commission (1528), Katharine refuses to plead 1528
 5. This ruins Wolsey. His death 1530

v. *Results of Wolsey's life and work*

- a. Gave example of Absolutism
- b. also of dissolution of monasteries
- c. and of the ecclesiastical independence of England

vi. *Later History of the Divorce*

1. Pope orders Katharine's restoration
2. The Universities of Europe consulted
3. Cranmer becomes Archbishop of Canterbury 1533
4. Cranmer decides in Henry's favour
5. Death of Katharine 1536

Henry VIII. began his reign with great advantages. Every- i. Henry VIII. thing seemed to be in his favour.

1. His advantages.

(Swift 1).

a. Personal.

1521.

(Gairdner's *Hist.* 5,
78-80.)

b. His popularity.

c. Inherited treasure

d. Nobles weak.

e. England at peace.

2. Dangers in his character.

(Stubbs' *Lectures*, 281
- 85, 333.)

(1) He had been carefully educated, and to the end of his life he showed remarkable acuteness. There had once been an idea of his receiving Holy Orders, and the direction of his studies had therefore been largely ecclesiastical. He continued his interest in such matters : a book which he wrote against Luther's early proposals (and which obtained from the Pope the title of *Fidei Defensor*—"Defender of the Faith"—the F.D. which still figures on our coinage) was a remarkable production for a young man. His knowledge of Theology and of Church History kept him clear of heresy through all the religious changes made in his reign.

(2) He was proficient in manly exercises, an excellent shot with the bow, and a graceful rider. He had a fine and handsome figure, with the geniality which his father had lacked. He was therefore exceedingly popular with the people.

(3) He inherited much wealth. It has been often pointed out that Henry VII. accumulated treasure for Henry VIII. to spend.

(4) But the father had done more for the son than that. The nobles, already weakened by the Wars of the Roses, had been curbed by the activity of the Star Chamber and by the laws against "maintenance" and "livery."

(5) There was no rival left to contest the throne with Henry VIII., and (6) Henry VII.'s statesmanship had left England at peace with and honoured by her foreign neighbours.

But there were dangers lurking underneath this fair exterior. Henry's early popularity, and the flattery which always waits upon a King, especially a popular King, soon brought to light signs of pride and selfishness in his character. He was strong-willed by nature, with a high opinion of the royal dignity,* and his strong position soon made him overbearing and tyrannical.

His character, therefore, steadily grew worse as his power grew stronger. Each fresh taste of power, each new acquisition of wealth, increased his appetite for wealth and power, while it enabled him the more readily to gratify it. His self-will and selfishness grew greater. He had capable ministers, like Wolsey, More, Cranmer, Gardiner, and Crumwell, but each was kept only so long as he was useful for carrying out the King's will. As soon as Henry found himself out of harmony with them, or had no further use for them, they were sacrificed without a thought of gratitude or a feeling of pity.

* It is noticeable that Empson and Dudley were executed in the very beginning of the reign, not for their illegal exactions but for pretended treason.

Henry had, too, in a remarkable degree, the power of imposing his will on all with whom he came in contact. None of his ministers ever carried through a measure which was distasteful to the King, and, in spite of his mistakes and his crimes, he remained strangely popular to the end of his reign.

His first attention was directed to foreign affairs. Here it is important to remember that Europe was now learning for the first time the value of what is called the "Balance of Power." The various States were all as it were to counter-balance one another. The chief continental powers were France, the German Empire, and Spain. Italy was a collection of small States, among which the Papal States were chief, and as worldly as the rest.

We find these, with England, siding with one another, and changing sides, in a way which is bewildering unless we remember the object which underlay, as it still underlies, European politics.

The Papacy was little more than a political State, and it was just now jealous of the power of Venice. Accordingly in 1509 it formed the *League of Cambrai* against it. The States who joined the Papacy were the Empire, France, Spain, and Burgundy. Of course so powerful a combination quickly defeated Venice, but the Pope then insisted that France should surrender the possessions she held in Italy. France refused, and the Pope asserted that she was a danger to the spiritual independence of the Church, and formed what he called a *Holy League* in his defence. Henry readily joined with the Pope, the Empire, Spain, and others, in this *Holy League*, for he was a zealous champion of the Church and was moreover wishful to make a figure in European politics.

But all parties, including the Pope, had an eye to their own interests only: for example, the fruits of the English victory over the French at Guinegate ("the battle of the Spurs") fell to others. Spain took Navarre from France, and the Emperor's trading ships going to the Netherlands were now in less danger from French vessels. England alone, being inexperienced in the ways of diplomacy, though she gained glory, gained nothing else.

It was Wolsey who perceived the true state of affairs, and to him belongs the credit of getting Henry out of the difficulty. He did this by bringing about a marriage between Henry's sister Mary and the King of France, Louis XII. This not only brought peace with France but also with Scotland, which had, as usual, seized the opportunity when England was at war with France to invade the northern counties. The Scots had been routed, and their King, James IV., killed, at Flodden Field. Flodden was the English bow's last victory. James IV. made the usual mistake of attempting a frontal attack

II. Foreign affairs.

'Balance of Power.'

2. Pope forms League of Cambria against Venice, 1509.

(Wakeman 208.)

2. Then Holy League against France, 1511.

Self-interest is the general motive.

B. of Guinegate, 1513.

(Barnard 82)

3. Wolsey extricates England and secures peace.

a. The French marriage, 1514.

b. B. of Flodden, 1513.

(George 107, Barnard 82-3.)

with pikemen who were more fitted for defence. The English archers shook the main body of the Scots, and the English knights broke through the gaps and shattered their enemies.

Thomas Wolsey had had a distinguished career at Oxford, and the Church had afforded him, as so many others, the means of overcoming the obstacle of a humble birth. The son of a tradesman, he rose, through merit and education, to be the equal of the noblest in Europe. He had been Chaplain to Archbishop Warham and Henry VII., and had been employed in several foreign embassies in the last reign. He had been very useful in arranging for the recent campaign in France, and it was in the course of the negotiations which followed that he attained the foremost place in the counsels of the King. Henceforth, till his fall, he, singly, had all the powers which in our time are exercised by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary.

Of course honours were showered upon so influential a man. Henry VII. had made him Dean of Lincoln in 1509. The King of France had made him Bishop of Tournai. Henry VIII. made him Bishop of Lincoln in 1514, and Archbishop of York directly afterwards. The Pope made him a cardinal in 1515 and Legate in 1518. In 1515 he became Lord Chancellor, and in 1523 Prince Bishop of Durham, a position of almost royal splendour and wealth. In 1529 he became Bishop of Winchester. His career was one of nearly unbounded success, and in all his many offices he showed the highest ability and the greatest industry and skill.

His policy in English affairs may be summed up as follows :
 He supported the King's authority to the utmost, because he knew it was at that time the only strong power in the country, and therefore was the only means by which order and respect for law could be enforced. The great lords whom he thus kept in check naturally bore him much ill-will.

Highly educated himself, he was a great and generous patron of learning. He founded a Grammar School at Ipswich and a College at Oxford. The latter was planned on a magnificent scale, and was intended to show that there was no real hostility between the New Learning and the old teaching of the Church.

His Foreign Policy had for its object the peaceful advancement of English power and influence. He tried to do this by making England necessary to rival powers on the Continent. Just now the two great rivals were Francis I. of France and Charles V. of Spain. The latter was elected Emperor in 1519. Francis sought to gain Henry to his side at the meeting near Calais which was called, from the magnificence which was displayed, "The Field of the Cloth of Gold." But England was much more strongly drawn to Charles. Englishmen had an

- iii. Wolsey.
- (Creighton's 'Wolsey'
- Swift 7-11 ;
- Green 320-30.)
- i. Wolsey's early life.

- 2. His honours and offices.

- 3. Wolsey's Domestic Policy.
- a. Supported Royal Absolutism.

- b. Patron of Learning.
- (Barnard 317.)

- 4. Wolsey's Foreign Policy : England's peaceable influence in Europe.

- a. France seeks English alliance.

1520.

Spain obtains it.

hereditary dislike to a French alliance, while on the other hand they knew it was necessary to keep on good terms with the power which owned Flanders, on account of the large woollen trade which England had with that country.

Charles, on his part, was anxious to be friends with England not only as a helpful check on his French rival but also because otherwise she might harass his ships as they passed along the trading route between Spain and Flanders. He therefore paid Henry the great compliment of visiting him at Canterbury, and he promised to marry his young daughter Mary. By this means Henry was drawn into the struggle between the two continental powers.

In spite of Wolsey's desire for peace, for he knew England was in no condition for war, war broke out. France grew restive at the prospect of so dangerous an alliance as that between England and Spain, and stirred up risings in Spanish territory. The allies retaliated by raiding Picardy, but Charles was, as usual, only using England for his own advantage, and the victory he won at Pavia, where he captured Francis, raised fear that he, in turn, was becoming too powerful. He had pushed as far as Rome and taken possession of the city. Moreover it was becoming plain that he was not going to complete the promised marriage with Mary. Wolsey therefore made the excuse that his successes were threatening the independence of the Pope, and made peace with France. Henry was to receive 50,000 crowns, and Mary was to marry the Duke of Orleans, Francis I.'s second son. Charles, too, made peace with France at Cambrai and thus secured his independence in Italy.

c. War with France.

1525.

d, Wolsey again secures peace.

1527.

1529.

(*Wakeman*, 202 and 208.)

The outbreak of the war showed that Wolsey was no longer the guide of Henry: he had become, as all men became, his servant. He could at best only try to influence events which he could no longer direct. As Henry's servant he was soon dragged into matters which proved his ruin.

In Church affairs his great wish was to bring about a gradual reform of abuses, of which there were many. He had no sympathy with the party which was beginning to make itself heard on the Continent, and which desired to cut Christianity quite adrift from the past, as if one proposed to remedy a soiled face by cutting off the head. In getting rid of abuses they got rid also of much that was valuable and beautiful in the old system of the Church. In attacking the excessive authority of the Bishop of Rome, who was called the Pope and claimed supreme control over all clergy, they attacked the authority of all bishops. In some places they refused to have bishops or priests at all, though these orders of ministers dated from the Apostles themselves and could not be destroyed without destroying the essential framework of the Catholic Church.

5. Wolsey's Ecclesiastical Policy — Conservative and reversion Reform.

Instead of rash and dangerous revolution.

a, Monastic reform.
(*Cresighton's 'Wolsey'*
141-146.)

It was this excessive zeal on the part of Luther and many others of the Reformers, which alarmed many who were desirous of true reforms, and frightened them from making any improvements at all through the danger of being carried too far.

But Wolsey was bold enough to attack abuses without fear. In dissolving small and useless monasteries (devoting their wealth to good objects) he set the example which was afterwards followed so disastrously. Helped by the possessions of some of these he founded his splendid "Cardinal's College" at Oxford: when Henry followed suit a few years later the spoils of the Church were mostly squandered and wasted.

b, Aims at Papacy.

Wolsey had great ideas of carrying through many other reforms in a wise and reverent spirit. At one time he had aimed at the Papacy itself, not for his own personal glory, but in order that with its influence and authority he might be the better able to bring about reforms, not only in England but throughout Europe.

IV. *Wolsey's Fall.*

a, Reform interrupted by the Divorce question.

It is pathetic that such high and worthy ideals should have had such a sad end.

The immediate cause of his downfall was Henry's determination to obtain a divorce from his wife.

Henry said himself that the death of all his children except Mary brought him to realise the sin he had committed in marrying his brother's widow. It is more probable that what made him desirous of freeing himself from his wife, who was considerably older than himself, was the violent fancy he took to Anne Boleyn, who was young and pretty though of loose character.

1. Henry applies to the Pope to annul his marriage.
1527.

2. The Pope's dilemma.

3. Tries to avoid decision.

The marriage between Henry and Katharine had been originally made possible by means of a Dispensation from the Pope which professed to allow the law of the Church to be set aside. Henry now asked the present Pope to annul the marriage.

Pope Clement VII. would probably have been willing enough to do so, for it was not a time when the Papacy could afford to offend any of its friends. But just then he was practically a captive in the hands of Katharine's nephew, the Emperor Charles V. He was therefore in a difficulty. His best plan seemed to be to try to put matters off in the hope that something would happen which would save him from the necessity of deciding at all.

4. Appoints Commission 1528.

Katharine refuses to plead, 1529.

After a certain time, however, he could delay no longer, and he appointed Cardinal Campeggio to join Cardinal Wolsey in trying the case. If the trial had been held in England Henry might have influenced the decision, but Katharine refused to plead and appealed to the Pope himself. In his present difficulty the Pope could only give sentence in her favour, and

thus the King perceived. His wrath fell, as it always did, on the man who, having served him best, failed at length to be any longer successful. He knew no gratitude or justice. Wolsey was charged with breaking the law by holding the office of Legate, though all men knew he had obtained it by Henry's desire. He had thus exposed himself to the mysterious penalties of *praemunire*, penalties all the more dreaded because they were quite undefined by law. The King despoiled him of all his possessions; his College at Oxford was robbed of half of its property and was re-named Christ Church; his Grammar School disappeared. He himself, broken-hearted by the base ingratitude of the master he had served so well, died on his way to London to answer a charge of treason which had been brought against him. He said truly, "had I but served my God with half the zeal that I have served my King, He would not have deserted me in my old age."

5. This ruins Wolsey

Wolsey's death 1530.

The results of his life and work were important. As chief minister of state he had found he could do best by keeping all power in his own hands. Henry learnt the lesson all too well, and when he and later Tudors exercised absolute power the nation failed to notice the danger for people had grown accustomed to the practice under Wolsey.

V. Results of his life and work. (Creighton, ch. 11.)
a, Gave example of absolutism.

From his great minister, too, Henry learnt how to despoil the monasteries, and it was in the confiscation of Wolsey's own estates that he had his first taste of such spoil.

b, also of dissolution of monasteries.

The supreme authority in religious matters which Wolsey had exercised in England as Papal Legate, trying cases in England which would otherwise have gone to Rome, helped to accustom the nation to doing without the Pope even in matters which were, in those days, ordinarily referred to him. Having grown accustomed to having in England a Pope Wolsey, they were soon to have a Pope Henry.

c, and of ecclesiastical independence of England.

(Gairdner's Hist. 240.)

The later history of the Divorce may be briefly summarised. Thomas Crumwell, who had learnt his business as Wolsey's secretary, became Henry's chief minister, and efforts were made to win over the Emperor Charles, and with him the Pope, but without success. Indeed at length, under pressure from Charles, the Pope issued orders to Henry to restore Katharine. Henry was driven to desperate measures. Cranmer, who had been rising to importance, suggested taking the opinion of the Universities of Europe, hoping to bring to bear upon the Pope the force of educated opinion. But as a rule only those who were willing to receive Henry's bribes gave an opinion in Henry's favour, and the result was too doubtful to be of any value.

VI. Later history of Divorce.

1. Pope orders Katharine's restoration.

2. The Universities consulted.

Henry then tried to bring pressure of another kind. It was not difficult to persuade Parliament to pass a law forbidding the payment of Annates (i.e., yearly sums from each benefice)

to Rome, but it was understood that if the Pope would grant the divorce the law should not be enforced. The Pope, however, stood firm and negotiations continued.

3. Cranmer becomes
Abp. 1533.

At length Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and Henry appointed Cranmer to the office. The Pope could not refuse his assent, which it had long been customary to ask, though it was practically certain that Cranmer would do all in his power to carry out the King's wish. As a matter of fact he immediately held a Court to try the case: the result was a foregone conclusion and Katharine refused to appear. Judgment was given against the unhappy Queen, and the marriage was pronounced to have been null and void from the first. The Princess Mary in consequence had no title to the succession.

4. Cranmer decides
in Henry's
favour.

Henry had, indeed, or so it afterwards was alleged, already married Anne Boleyn, and a daughter, who became Queen Elizabeth, was born soon after. Anne was crowned with great pomp. Katharine died in retirement in 1536.

5. Death of
Katharine 1536.
(Froude's 'England,'
I. 451-460.)
(Froude II. 251-2.)

2. THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

i. *The Meaning of the Reformation*

ii. *Immediate causes of the English Reformation*

1. Papacy always unpopular
2. Henry's desire for the Divorce
3. Spiritual decline of the Papacy
4. The Renaissance

iii. *English Religious Parties*

1. 'Reformers'
2. 'Conservatives'
3. 'Anglicans'
 - a. Opposed to Papal usurpations
 - b. and desired Reform of Abuses
 - c. But not the loss of Catholic Faith and Practice

iv. *Reformation in Henry VIII's Reign* = Freedom from the Papacy

i. The Reformation Parliament 1529—36

- a. Its value to Henry
- b. Its unrepresentative character
- c. Its work

i. *Reforms*

1. Financial Reforms
2. Clergy fined
3. Act against Annates 1532
4. Act of Appeals 1533

ii. *Revolutionary Acts*

1. Act of Submission 1534: embodies "Submission of the Clergy" 1532 with an important difference:
 - a. "Supreme Head" as defined by the Clergy.
 - b. As defined in the Act
 - c. Legality of Canons to depend on Royal Assent.
2. Act of Succession 1534
Execution of Fisher and More
Crumwell made Vicar General
3. Second Act of Annates 1534

- iii. *Dissolution of the Monasteries*
 - 1. Causes
 - 2. Lesser Monasteries confiscated 1536
 - 3. Pilgrimage of Grace 1537
 - Its causes —a. Religious : Dissolution of Monasteries
 - b. Social : Enclosures
 - c. Political : 'New Nobility'
 - 4. Greater Monasteries dissolved 1539
- v. *Results of the Dissolution of the Monasteries*
 - 1. Some new Bishoprics founded
 - 2. Increased Royal Power
 - a. Wealth
 - b. Endowment of New Nobility who support Royal Power
 - c. Weakening of spiritual Lords in Parliament
 - 3. Social effects
 - a. Injury to Education
 - b. Loss to Poor
 - 4. Moral effect — a blow to religion
 - 5. Material effects
 - a. Destruction of buildings
 - b. Pillaging of Shrines
- 2. Doctrinal Reforms
 - a. Henry VIII. a 'Protestant' in carrying into effect the protest against the Papal power
 - b. But made few Doctrinal changes
 - 1. Translation of Bible : "Great Bible" 1536
 - 2. Ten Articles
 - 3. Act of Six Articles 1539 to restrain extreme Reformers
 - c. Cromwell's attempt to influence Henry towards Reform by marriage with Anne of Cleves 1540
 - Its failure secures Cromwell's downfall : His character
 - d. Reforms in worship : Litany and Primer
- v. *Last Years*
 - a. Foreign affairs
 - 1. War with Scotland : Battle of Solway Moss 1542
 - 2. Henry tries to force a marriage on Scots
 - 3. It leads to War with France (1544—46) Capture of Boulogne 1546
 - b. Henry's last actions
 - c. His death 1547

The great movement which is called the Reformation is one which is often misunderstood in spite of its name, and is still more often misrepresented. It is often looked upon as the setting up of a fresh religion instead of the reforming of the old. Obviously to start a fresh religion would be in itself a sin against God, for the Faith was "once for all" delivered. The Reformation in England was nothing of this kind. It was, as its name implies, the reforming of certain errors; and the constant claim of its supporters was that their object was to

(Wakeman 225-230;
Perry's 'Reformation in England.'
Seebohm's 'Protest. Revolution'.)

1. The meaning of 'Reformation.'

bring back the religion and practice of the Church to their first purity. Unfortunately, as is always the case, much evil was mixed with the good. Bad men took advantage of the opportunity to further their own ends, and, often, to despoil the Church. Ignorant men, too, did much mischief. There is, therefore, much in the long movement, which is indeed not ended yet, which is sad and shameful. But God over-ruled it for good. The English Church, which had existed since S. Augustine's days, long before there had been an English State (and there had been a branch of the Catholic Church in this island even earlier than that) was preserved in all essential features. The succession of Bishops was unbroken, the Sacraments continued to be administered, the churches remained for their sacred purposes, and though the Church suffered much in the process, both in dignity, power, and wealth, she emerged purified from many evils and free from the authority which the Bishop of Rome had gradually usurped.

(*Wakeman* 200.)

II. Immediate causes of English Reformation.

1. Papacy always unpopular in England.
2. Henry's desire for divorce.
3. Spiritual decline of the Papacy. (*Wakeman* 19-92.)
4. Renaissance.

(*Wakeman* 193-195;
Green 329.)

She had often struggled against this authority. But too often the King and Pope had made common cause together, each profiting by the other's support. The Pope had now fatally offended the King, and he, in his turn, called on the people to join in opposing the Pope. The Popes had for many years been little more than political Sovereigns, so it was difficult for them to appeal to spiritual loyalty. The Revival of Learning, too, had weakened spiritual authority of all kinds.

But the question was a complicated one, for the better conscience of England was shocked at Henry's treatment of his good and faithful wife, whose only fault was that he had grown tired of her. Moreover many feared lest "reform" would mean in England what it had too often meant abroad—a loosening of all ties with historic Christianity, and, sometimes, even the breaking away from religion itself.

III. English Religious parties.

1. 'Reformers.'
2. 'Conservatives.'
3. 'Anglicans.'

Three parties can be seen in England.

There were some who were eager for wholesale changes at any cost. These included not only good men who desired change for religious reasons, but also many bad men who cast eager eyes on the spoils which they hoped to share if the Church was plundered. They all may be called the "Reformers."

There were others who feared to support any improvement at all, lest they should support the fanatics and spoilers: the only hope of safety seemed to lie in strongly maintaining the present order of things, questionable though some of them might be. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was the leader of these, who may be called the "Conservatives." He had not hesitated to speak plainly against the Pope's usurped authority, but as things progressed he came to feel that he had rather bear the ills they had than fly to others that he knew not of.

Most men, however, were in favour of moderate and sensible

changes, though they had no desire to lose anything of the Catholic Faith, or to set up any new religion. They were *English* Churchmen, not *Roman* Churchmen, and may well be called the "Anglicans" or *English* Party. They were Catholics quite as truly as were those who continued to acknowledge the Pope's authority. The real point of difference was that the "Anglicans" approved of throwing off papal dominion, the "Conservatives" (who are often, wrongly, called Catholics) desired to retain it. It had always been disliked in England, it was quite unscriptural, and most of the abuses which existed were due to it. The discreditable state of Church Courts was due largely to the system of Appeals to Rome; the lax condition of Monks and Friars was the result of their being free from the supervision of their Bishops and answerable to the Pope only. Generally speaking, the Parish Priests were doing their duty, and the main body of the nation desired to retain Catholic Faith. Thus the Church of England succeeded in remaining Catholic, both in doctrine and in practice, while reforming abuses and freeing herself from papal authority. It was this third party, comprising the main body of the nation, conservative yet reforming, protesting against papal usurpations yet Catholic in doctrine and practice, which both supported and restrained the more ardent spirits who forced the movement of reform. These latter had a brief spell of unlimited power in the reign of Edward VI., but their day was not yet.

a opposed to Papal usurpations,

b, and desired reform of abuses,

c, but not the loss of Catholic Faith and practice.

With doctrinal changes the King would have nothing to do : he remained "Defender of the Faith" to the end of his life. His one and only object was to deprive the Pope of his official power in England, at first because it stood in the way of the Divorce, though he soon desired to exercise it himself.

IV. Reformation in Henry VIII. — freedom from Papacy.

At first most men looked with suspicion on his movements. But in 1529 a Parliament was elected which proved willing to carry out his wishes. Henry fully realised the importance of having at any rate the show of Public Opinion on his side when attacking so great and venerable a power as the Papacy.

(1.) *The Reformation Parliament, 1529* — 36.

(Stubbs' *Lectures*, 287; *Swift* 30—40; *Dixon* l.)

a, Its value to Henry

It should be borne in mind that the Reformation Parliament, as it is called, was by no means necessarily representative of the country. There was a form of election, but usually in those days the King directed who was to be elected. The process was very similar to the method of electing Bishops by *Congé d'elire*. In this Parliament more than half the members were royal officials, and it was particularly open to royal influence. Henry therefore kept it as long as possible. In the whole reign of 38 years only nine Parliaments were elected, but this one lasted for nearly seven years. In the end it was found to have abolished Papal authority in England, and to have set up instead a royal supremacy.

b, Its character.

c, Its work.

(i.) *Reforms.*1. *Financial.*

Henry was always short of money, and the first work of the Reformation Parliament was to provide him with supplies. This was done by a large reform of the fees payable in connection with wills—then under the control of the Ecclesiastical Courts—and their transference to the King. Payments which were made when a priest held more than one living were also transferred from the Pope to the King. Both these measures were popular with the people and, of course, profitable to the King.

2. *Clergy fined.*3. *Act against Anates, 1532.*

(Gairdner's *Hist.*
145.)

4. *Act of Appeals, 1533.*(ii.) *Revolutionary Acts.*1. *Act of Supremacy 1534, embodies "Submission of Clergy," 1532, with important difference.*

(*Wakeman* 210-211,
214-215.)

(*Gairdner's Hist.* 108,
122.)

a. *"Supreme Head" as defined by Clergy.*b. *As defined in Act.*

(*Gairdner's Hist.*
153-155.)

c. *Legality of Canons to depend on Royal assent.*

But the sums which they brought to the royal treasury were comparatively small, and Henry having confiscated Wolsey's estates on the plea that he had accepted the office of Legate now fined the Clergy a huge sum for having acknowledged him as Legate.

Henry hoped these measures would influence the Pope, but as he still stood firm against the Divorce an Act against Anates was introduced, holding out the threat of depriving him of the large revenue which these annual payments from the Clergy brought him. This having proved useless, Henry determined to have the question of the Divorce decided in England. Cranmer, the new Archbishop, was ready to give sentence in his favour, and, to prevent the carrying out the case to Rome, for Katharine would be sure to appeal from Archbishop to Pope, an Act was passed absolutely forbidding such Appeals. It was then that Cranmer gave his decision.

So far the Parliament could be described as a *Reforming* Parliament. The changes it had made were not, in themselves, bad, and they met with general acceptance.

But it went further, and began to be *revolutionary*. The Clergy in their Convocation had been forced, soon after their punishment for owning Wolsey's legatine authority, to draw up a "submission" to the King, acknowledging his supreme power. It is important to notice two points:

1. They were careful to add the qualifying words, that he was Supreme Head of the English Church "so far as the law of Christ will allow," lest they should seem to set up any earthly authority in the place of Christ.

2. Henry himself, always a precise theologian, personally repudiated any claim to *spiritual* powers.

However when the "Submission of the Clergy" was embodied in an Act of Parliament, called the Act of Supremacy, the qualifying words were absent, and the royal supremacy was not only stated in a form which was offensive, if not blasphemous, but was also open to misconstruction and misuse. The Clergy were also deprived of all power of making new regulations for themselves (called Canons) without the consent of the King and Parliament. They were therefore powerless to destroy abuses or to introduce improvements, and this evil

still continues. Henceforth, as one of the Foreign Ambassadors in England noted, they had less power than the Shoemakers, who at least could make regulations for their own craft. When therefore people complain about abuses in the Church and wonder why the Clergy do not reform them, they should remember that Parliament itself took away, and still withholds, their power of doing this.

An Act of Succession which had been passed at nearly the same time, declared

1. Henry's marriage with Katharine had been unlawful ;
2. Anne Boleyn's daughter Elizabeth, not Katharine's daughter Mary, was the lawful successor to the throne.

It also required an Oath to be taken approving of the Act. More, the late Chancellor, the wisest and noblest Englishman of the day, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, the most learned of the Bishops, were unable to declare their belief in the illegality of Henry's first marriage, though, as law-abiding citizens, they were willing to acknowledge as heir anyone properly appointed by Parliament. They were in consequence executed on the charge of treason. The old Bishop took his New Testament with him to the scaffold, and opened it as he knelt to receive the fatal blow. He chanced upon the words " This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God." More's good-humoured dignity did not fail him even in his last moment. As the headsman raised his axe he carefully moved his long beard from the block. " Pity that should be cut " he murmured " that has never committed treason." Many others died under this Act, many of them being executed with much barbarity and horror.

The King had now taken to himself most of the power which the Pope had exercised. He made the unscrupulous Crumwell his Vicar-General, with wide authority in ecclesiastical matters such as the Papal Legates had held ; he also took the Annates in 1534. They had been described as sinful and wrong in the previous Act, but this did not deter Henry from receiving them himself ; and the sovereigns of England retained them, most unjustly, till Queen Anne restored them to the Church in what is still called " Queen Anne's Bounty." By the same Act it was ordered that bishops should be elected by *Congè d'elire* i.e. the cathedral body receives from the King *leave to elect* the bishop ; but in practice the sovereign always names, and always has named, the person on whom the choice is to fall.

The Pope still retained a strong garrison in England in the inmates of the Religious Houses. These were to a large extent outside the authority of the Bishops, and they had grown rich and lazy. Their riches were an irresistible attraction to Henry; their laxity gave a good excuse for attacking them ; their championship of the Pope made their destruction a necessity.

2. Act of Succession
1534.

Execution of More
and Fisher.

(*Wakeman* 236-238.)

(*Gairdner's Hist.*
149-153, 159-164)

Crumwell made
Vicar-General.

(*Green* 341-48 ;
Froude 1. 583-589.)

3. Second Act of
Annates, 1534.

Congè d'elire.

(III.) Dissolution of
Monasteries.

(*Wakeman* 168-182,
240-242; *Gasquet's*
'H. VIII. and
Eng. Monasteries';
Swift 41-58;
Dixon II.;
Perry's 'Reforma-
tion ch. 4.)

1. Causes :
 - a. Supporters of Pope's authority.
 - b. wealthy.
 - c. their decline.
 - d. gross charges against them.

(Gairdner's *Hist.*
164-166.)

2. Lesser Monasteries confiscated, 1536.

3. Provokes "Pilgrimage of Grace," 1537.

(*Green* 345; *Froude* ii. ch. 13.)

Causes—

- a. Religious : Monasteries.
- b. Social : Enclosures.
- c. Political : Discontent at "novi homines."

A series of vile charges was brought against them by vile agents appointed by Crumwell for this purpose. The charges were improbable in themselves and were never proved; and the known character of the accusers, Layton, Legh, and others, prevents their evidence from being trusted.

The Monks certainly had fallen below the high ideals of their founders and first members. But idleness and worldliness were their worst faults and these could have been remedied by proper supervision. No attempt was made to provide this, and in the end the whole monastic system was swept away—in spite of its splendid past, and in spite of the incalculable debt which English Christianity and learning owed to it. The unproved charges formed a sufficient excuse for confiscating the property of the smaller Houses, i.e., those whose income fell below £200 a year (as though merit could be measured by money-value), but it was acknowledged in the Act that in the greater Houses "religion is, thanks be to God, right well kept and observed."

The measure caused much dissatisfaction. In the northern counties a serious rebellion broke out, headed by one Aske. It was a religious rising in defence of the Monks, who at any rate had been friends of the people, and it obtained the name of the Pilgrimage of Grace. There were also complaints of enclosures.

It was also a revolt of the middle classes against the upper, who were mostly creatures of Henry and who alone stood to profit by the measure. The nobles cruelly repressed the insurgents. The Duke of Norfolk was conspicuous in this work, and the Council of the North was erected to keep the long-continuing discontent in check.

In the west the dissatisfaction infected even the nobles, and Henry took advantage of this excuse to send to execution the old Countess of Salisbury (niece of Edward IV.) whose son had lately been made Cardinal Pole, and even his own cousin the Marquis of Exeter.

Some years before, More, when he resigned his Chancellorship, said to Crumwell words which were almost prophetic of the rest of the reign. "Master Crumwell, you are now in the service of a most wise, noble, and liberal prince: if you will follow my poor advice, you shall in your counsel-giving to his grace, ever tell him what he ought to do, but never what he is able to do. For if a lion knew his own strength it were hard for any man to rule him." For some time Henry had been learning his strength, and as he learnt it his only standard of right and wrong seemed to be the measure of his own power. Each success only made him hungry for more. It was not likely he would be content with the spoils of the lesser Monasteries, and so it proved.

1541.

1539.

The larger ones soon followed, and their fall was brought about by methods even more questionable than those which had proved fatal to the lesser.

Some of them had, naturally enough, sympathised more actively than was wise with the Pilgrimage of Grace, and on this plea their property was declared forfeited to the King. Some were frightened into surrender. Some were persuaded to surrender in the hope they might thus save themselves. All eventually fell.

With the exception of Westminster, Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford and Bristol, which were changed into Cathedrals, all was taken. An almost incredible amount of wealth thus came into Henry's hands. A considerable proportion of the Church lands was given to Henry's friends, and helped to build up the "New Nobility" in the place of the old which had been so largely destroyed in the Wars of the Roses. Though these new families often took the names of the old there is little real connection between the greedy time-servers, who grew powerful by the spoils of the Church, and the old patriotic nobles of Plantagenet times. These had, again and again, opposed tyrannical Kings, but the new men were of course obliged to support the Crown which had ennobled and enriched them, and were bound to uphold the religious changes which had supplied the materials for their rise. In Mary's reign the refusal of the lords to give up their Church lands was one of the chief difficulties the Queen had to overcome. Moreover the "spiritual lords" were diminished in numbers by one-half by the disappearance of the Mitred Abbots from Parliament, so that the House of Lords became for many years merely the puppet of the Sovereign. We have seen how little real representation there was in the House of Commons, so that both Houses of Parliament fell quite under royal influence.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries had other results also.

Education suffered terribly, for many monasteries had maintained schools and all had had libraries. The books were flung out into the fields or sold cheaply to bookbinders and soap-sellers. The few schools which were spared or afterwards restored, and which now bear the names of Henry VIII., Mary, or Edward VI., were but poor compensation for the blow struck at English education.

The poor lost ready helpers and good friends, while at the same time their ranks were swelled by the multitudes of monks and nuns who were cast adrift upon the world.

The tenants on the monastic estates felt severely the change of masters. The monks had been easy landlords, so easy in fact that many of their houses were in debt. They had lived among their tenants, buying their dairy produce and helping

4. Greater Monasteries dissolved 1537.

(iv.) *Results of Dissolution of Monasteries.*

(Wakeman 242 245.)

1. Some new Bishoprics founded.

2. Increased Royal Power.

a. Wealth.

b. Endowment of new nobility

who support royal power.

c. Weakening of Parliament.

3. Social effects.

a. Injury to Education.

b. Loss to poor.

them in their daily life. But the new owners had no interest in their tenants. They did not live in the old house. The monastic buildings fell to ruin, and a steward exacted rents which were spent elsewhere. Often indeed the new owners turned out the old tenants and threw the whole estates into pasturage, which needed but few men.

4. Moral effects — These results of the Dissolution were plain to see. But the worst result was one which is beyond all power to estimate. So wide a measure of destruction, based upon such foul charges, struck a staggering blow at the Church, so that religion and morality itself reeled under the shock. For many years to come England was marked by widespread irreligion and ignorance.

5. Material effects :
 a, Destruction of buildings.
 b, Pillaging of Shrines.
- Meanwhile the wealth of the Monasteries slipped like water through Henry's fingers. Royal as he was in his vices and his crimes, he was royal in his extravagance. In 1544 he had to apply to Parliament to release him from his debts. In 1545 he attacked the Chantries, which were side-chapels in cathedrals and other churches, endowed by men and women in the past so that prayers might always be said for their souls. Many beautiful buildings had been destroyed and there had been much pillaging of shrines : thus many monuments rich in historical associations disappeared. They were said to be used superstitiously, but they were certainly valuable, often being set with gold and silver and precious stones. It is quite certain that Henry in removing the superstition did not overlook the valuables. There is a story that the tomb of Becket, the great archbishop who had dared to oppose a King, was plundered with a strange mockery. Becket, dead 350 years before, was solemnly summoned to take his trial for treason, and when he did not appear his tomb was declared to be forfeited.

The rich and famous shrines of Our Lady at Walsingham and of S. Cuthbert at Durham were among those which were pillaged. The shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey was afterwards restored, with diminished splendour, by Mary.

- (a.) *Doctrinal Reforms.*
 a, Henry a "Protestant" in carrying into effect the protest against Papal power.
 b, But made few doctrinal changes.
- Henry had no sympathy with the *Doctrines* of the Reformers. They protested against the power of the Pope, and thus came to be called Protestants ; they, naturally, exalted the power of the Sovereign in religious matters, for it was the only power which in those days was effective. Of all this Henry heartily approved, and greedily grasped to himself as much authority, religious and political, as he could. With doctrinal changes it was different. Henry knew there was nothing vital to the Church in the power of the Pope, but he had no sympathy with those who wished to carry through changes in matters of Faith.

(Swift 63-77).

Yet when men saw him ruthlessly pillaging sacred things, and destroying much that had been held holy, the impression was bound to spread that changes of doctrine must follow. Henry was determined that nothing of the kind should follow in his day.

He soon made it plain how far he would go in the direction of the Reformers. The Bible in an authorised translation was issued under the title of the "Great Bible." The Bible of course had been quite well known, although the copies in circulation had been in Latin, just as the laws of the land were known, though they were written and administered in French.

Ten Articles dealing with various points of doctrine were drawn up about the same time, and were next year expanded and defended in *The Bishops' Book*, or *the Institution of a Christian Man*. This in turn was revised in *the King's Book*, or *the Necessary Erudition of any Christian Man*, which, as its name implies, received the personal supervision of Henry.

When the arguments contained in these proved insufficient to restrain the more extreme of those who were desirous of change, Henry carried through Parliament the *Act of Six Articles*. It asserted the truth of six stated points of doctrine and practice, some of which were expressed in their crudest form and all of which were exceedingly distasteful to the Reformers. The most extreme penalties were inflicted on those who refused to assent, and many were executed.

So far as Henry can be supposed to have been influenced by any party this Act was a triumph for the Conservative section. Crumwell's power had thus received a distinct blow, and he tried to restore his credit by arranging an alliance between Henry and the reforming Princes of Germany. Henry had soon tired of Anne Boleyn, and had executed her. Next day he had married Jane Seymour, who died after giving birth to a son, afterwards Edward VI. Crumwell now proposed a marriage with Anne of Cleves. But she proved to be utterly without attractions of any kind and Henry at once divorced her. The failure of the marriage dragged down Crumwell. He had failed to follow Henry in matters of doctrine, and in his devotion to the King's service he had, like Wolsey, made many enemies. Like Wolsey he was accused of treason, and was beheaded without trial and without pity.

There is something pathetic and mysterious in Crumwell—the man who had been trained by Wolsey, yet who rose on his ruins and pursued a policy which his master would have abhorred: who had shown exceptional nobleness when he, alone, had dared to lift a voice in Parliament in defence of his fallen patron, yet who left behind him a name for all that is base, ignoble, and tyrannical.

Henry was impartial in his matrimonial executions. The

1. Translation of Bible 1539.

(Swift 76-84.)

2. Ten Articles.

(Gairdner's Hist. 188 etc., 226 etc.)

1539.

3. Act of Six Articles to restrain extreme reformers.

i. Transubstantiation.

ii. Sufficiency of Communion in one kind.

iii. Clerical Celibacy.

iv. Vows of Chastity were binding.

v. Private Masses.

vi. Private Confession.

7. Crumwell's attempt to influence Henry towards reform by marriage with Anne of Cleves.

1540.

(Gairdner's Hist. 209.)

Its failure secures his downfall.

1540.

Crumwell's character.

(Froude iii. 334-341.)

d, Reforms in
Worship.

v. Last years.
a. Foreign affairs.
1. War with
Scotland.

Solway Moss.
1542.
(*Froude iii. 529-532.*)

2. Henry tries to
force a marriage
alliance on Scots

3. It leads to War
with France.
1544-46.

Capture of
Boulogne, 1546.

b, Henry's last
actions.

c, His death, 1547.

Duke of Norfolk, leader of the Conservative Party among the nobles, now had influence. Henry married his daughter Katharine Howard, but in a year she was accused of gross crimes, and followed her unhappy predecessors to the scaffold. Henry next married Katharine Parr. She, though inclining to the reformers, was careful not to offend her spouse, and so outlived him. Henry allowed certain reforms in worship. The Litany was translated into English, and a new edition of the Primer (i.e. a First Book of Prayers, Creed, Commandments, etc.) was issued.

The closing, like the opening, years of the reign were occupied with foreign affairs. A quarrel broke out with Scotland, whose King, James V. (Henry's nephew), had refused to take sides with Henry against the Pope. Border forays, which had lately been especially frequent on both sides, helped to increase the ill-feeling, and English troops were sent against the Scots. The latter were defeated at *Solway Moss*, and James died soon after. Henry then proposed a marriage between his young son Edward and the infant daughter of James. But the Scots preferred the renewal of their old alliance with France, and though Henry sent an army to try to force the marriage, and devastated the country between Berwick and Edinburgh, he failed in his object.

An army had also to be sent to France in consequence of the renewed alliance. It captured Boulogne, but added to Henry's debts, and Parliament was again called upon to release him. Henry also debased the coinage, and was planning the confiscation of the Chuntries (see above p. 168) when he fell ill.

His last acts were in accordance with his life. He ordered the arrest, on the usual charge of treason, of the Duke of Norfolk, the last of the men who had served him, and Norfolk's son, the Earl of Surrey. There was as usual no real ground for such a charge, but Henry probably felt that the Earl of Hertford, being uncle of young Edward, was the natural guardian of the future King, and Hertford and Norfolk had long been leaders of the rival parties of Reformers and Conservatives among the nobility. There was therefore no further need of Norfolk: he would indeed be distasteful to the new King's guardian. So he might follow Wolsey, More, and Crumwell, and in the same way. He was saved almost by a miracle. Surrey was executed on January 27th. Next day his father was actually on his way to the scaffold when news was brought that Henry had died.

EDWARD VI. 1547—1553.

- i. *Disastrous effects of the Minority*
- ii. *Protectorate of Somerset 1547—49*
 - a. Henry's will set aside
 - b. Somerset's character
 - c. War with Scots : Battle of Pinkie
 - d. Religious changes
 - 1. Royal Injunctions
 - 2. Spoliation of parish Churches
 - 3. Robbery of Chantries
 - 4. Educational
 - 5. Congregational suspended
 - 6. Act of Uniformity and 1st Prayer Book of Edward VI., 1549
 - e. General mismanagement : enclosures
 - f. Archbishop Cranmer
 - g. Rebellions in Norfolk and Devon
 - h. Fall of Somerset 1549
- iii. *Government of Northumberland 1549—53.*
 - a. Influence of Foreign Reformers
 - b. Religious persecution
 - c. 2nd Prayer Book 1552
 - d. The 42 Articles of Religion 1553
 - e. Edward VI.'s character
 - f. Northumberland's conspiracy

It was most unfortunate that the new king, Henry VIII.'s son by Jane Seymour, his third wife, was only a boy of 9 years of age. Henry VIII. had been arbitrary and tyrannical but had kept anyone else from being so. Now, however, lesser men who had seen him play the tyrant, often at their expense, thought their own opportunity had come.

They followed his example in other ways also. He had pillaged the Church in the process of Reform, and they bettered his instruction. The government fell into the hands of greedy adventurers who urged on Reform as the mere excuse for plunder.

Henry VIII. had tried to erect a Council of Regency in which the two religious parties should be equally divided, so that no extreme measures should be taken till the new King could decide for himself. But Hertford, Edward VI.'s uncle, managed to have the King's will altered in his own favour. He had Gardiner the leader of the "Conservatives" removed and himself made Protector. He was of second-rate abilities though of great ambition, and was without tact or statesmanship. Everything he undertook was a failure, and by his religious policy he paved the way for the more extreme steps which were taken under Northumberland. He became Duke of Somerset in 1547.

i. *Disastrous Effects of the Minority.*
(*Wakeman 263-4.*)

ii. *Protectorate of Somerset: 1547—49.*

(*Pollard's 'Protector Somerset.'*)
a. Henry's will set aside, 1547.

b. Somerset's character.

c, War with Scots.

Somerset showed his lack of statesmanship first by his action towards Scotland. He took up Henry VIII.'s idea, and tried to compel the Scots to agree to the betrothal of their young Queen Mary to the boy Edward. An army consisting chiefly of hired foreigners was sent to add force to the arguments of policy, and, though it defeated the Scots at Pinkie, it quite failed. At Pinkie the Scottish pikemen as usual beat off the English men-at-arms. But artillery was brought to play upon their heavy masses, and when it had shaken them the English cavalry charged with murderous effect. Mary was sent to France and betrothed to the Dauphin.

Pinkie.

(Pollard's *Som.* 157-9; Barnard 85.)

d, Religious changes

(Wakeman 267-8.)

In religious matters also Somerset thought he was following Henry VIII.'s lead. He had none of Henry's theological ability, and he looked upon the Church as merely a department of State. The Royal Council therefore took all Church matters into its hands. It issued Injunctions for the removal of "superstitious" articles from the parish churches. The result was the destruction of much that was beautiful and the confiscation of all that was valuable in them. Somerset himself was only prevented from pulling down Westminster Abbey to provide building materials for a new house, by a bribe of 20 Manors given him by the Dean and Chapter. He then tried to take S. Margaret's church close by, but the parishioners stoned his workmen. Finally he demolished a parish church in the Strand, which, with the town houses of the bishops of Lichfield, Worcester, and Llandaff, and the adjoining church of the Knights Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, provided site and materials for Somerset House. The property of the Chantries was finally taken away. The so-called Edwardian foundation of Grammar Schools was really the sparing of a small portion of ecclesiastical property for the much-needed purpose of Education. Bishops were appointed by Royal Writ as though they were merely Civil Officers of the Crown.

3. Robbery of Chantries.

(Pollard's *Som.* 121-9; Barnard 319.)

5. Congé d'elire suspended.

6. Act of Uniformity and 1st Prayer Book of Edward VI. 1549.

(Wakeman 271-280.)

The work of translating the services into English, which had been begun, was continued, and in 1549 the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. was issued, and was ordered by the first Act of Uniformity.

The work was carried out mainly by Cranmer, with Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, and Cox, Dean of Christ Church.

Their aims were set forth in their Preface, which now forms the Second Preface in our Book of Common Prayer and deserves to be carefully read. The objects they had in view were :

(Gairdner's *Hist.* 266-268.)

- (a) to make the services uniform, simple, and easy to follow ;
- (b) to make them congregational and audible ;
- (c) to confine them to scriptural and primitive language and usages.

The result was, on the whole, satisfactory. The services were practically the old, translated and rearranged. Gardiner himself was willing to accept the book.

But it never had a fair chance of being generally used. The more extreme Reformers only looked on it as a beginning : the "Conservatives" were irritated by the alterations. Moreover everyone was growing dissatisfied with Somerset's conduct of the government. To foreign failure he added mismanagement at home. Powerful men not only plundered the clergy but also plundered the poor. The new owners of monastic lands often turned them from tillage into pasturage because thus fewer labourers were needed. The ejected tenants went to swell the vagrant class. The practice of enclosures proceeded apace. Sometimes under the pretence of turning the land to better account, but often under no pretence at all, large tracts of Common were "enclosed" by powerful landowners, to swell their great estates. The poor were thus deprived of pasturage for their cattle and runs for their poultry. The practical result of the recent reforms in religion seemed to be that all advantage went to the rich and all disadvantage to the poor.

e, General misgovernment.

Enclosures.

Among the crowd of self-seekers was only one honest man, Thomas Cranmer, and even he left a ruined reputation through the bad company into which his fortunes cast him. At Cambridge he had been honoured and respected. He was clever and broad-minded, and Henry VIII. saw the value of these qualities and made him Archbishop of Canterbury. His powers of translation have an enduring monument in the English Prayer Book, much of which was his work, and which is perhaps the finest example of translation which the world has seen.

f. Abp. Cranmer.
(*Wakeman* 264-267.
Pollard's Cranmer.)

But he was not only broad-minded : he was also weak-minded. He readily became as wax in the hands of such a King as Henry VIII. In 1536 he declared the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn void though he knew the facts three years previously when he declared it valid. He submitted to the setting aside of his own authority in Convocation in favour of Crumwell ; and when Somerset, Dudley, Paget, Warwick, and the rest, in the reign of Edward VI. were plundering the Church and degrading the name of Religion, he meekly submitted.

The same weakness of purpose and lack of independent thought showed itself in matters of religion. Broad-minded and weak-minded he readily fell under the influence of men of stronger will and clearer views, men like Melancthon, and Ridley, once his Chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

But weak and unstable though he was, he was at any rate free from selfishness. He was always sincerely trying to act

for what seemed at the time to be best, and was honest enough not to be afraid, as a stronger man might have been, of changing his opinions : he changed them, even on vital points, more than once. In those difficult days a stronger man would have earlier fallen, but a less honest man might easily have left a better reputation.

g, Rebellions in Norfolk and Devon.

The dissatisfaction at the misgovernment of Somerset increased, and found expression in insurrections in Norfolk and Devon. In Norfolk Ket headed a band against enclosures, and was forcibly put down by foreign mercenaries. In Cornwall and Devon the grievance was chiefly religious.

h, Fall of Somerset.

Even his fellow-nobles turned against him. His overbearing conduct had offended them, while his execution of his own brother Seymour, for daring to criticise his policy, alarmed them. He was thrown into the Tower and the Protectorate was ended. Warwick became head of the Council. Three years later an attempt by Somerset to regain his power led to his execution.

1549.

1551.

1552.

III. Government of Northumberland 1549-53.

(*Wakeman* 287.)

a, Foreign Reformers

Warwick was quite indifferent to religion and was purely a self-seeker. Under him the continental reformers obtained great influence. England had lately thrown off the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop, yet now the greatest respect was paid to foreign opinion. Peter Martyr, Bucer, John Laski, all exercised great power, and the doctrine of Zwingli, that Sacraments were mere signs, spread widely. The effect of such teaching was seen in the general destruction of altars. Bonner and Gardiner were deposed from their bishoprics, and some persons were burnt for religious opinions.

b, Religious Persecution.

(*Pollard's Som.* 263-4)

c, 2nd Prayer Book, 1552.

(*Wakeman* 292-296, *Gairdner's Hist.* 303-318.)

The 'Reformers' found themselves strong enough in 1552 to withdraw the Prayer Book and to issue another. The second Prayer Book of Edward VI. shows the extreme point to which the English Church ever went in the direction of Zwinglianism and Calvinism. Every revision since has restored some of the ancient features. It was never authorised by Convocation, and the death of the King soon after its appearance prevented it from being generally used. A set of Articles of Religion, 42 in number, very anti-papal in language, was issued about the same time.

d, 42 Articles, 1553.

e, Edward VI.'s character.

As the King grew up he proved to be a very precocious youth, flattered by courtiers into an undue opinion of his own abilities. He was led into embracing, with all the exaggeration of youth, the opinions of the most extreme Reformers, and took great interest in all religious matters.

But he was weak and sickly and it was evident would not live long. Warwick, anxious only for his own welfare, determined to make the most of the King while he lived. He obtained for himself the dignity of Duke of Northumberland and married his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane

f, Northumberland's conspiracy.

(*Gairdner's Hist.* 312)

Grey, who was descended from Henry VIII.'s sister Mary, who had married Suffolk on the death of Louis XII. (p. 155). He conceived the impudent idea of persuading the foolish young King to appoint Lady Jane Grey as his successor. She being on the side of the Reformers, and the rightful heiress, Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon, being an ardent adherent of the Papacy, this proved no difficult task. Edward's last act was to do his sister this great wrong.

1553.

But its evident injustice, joined to Northumberland's unpopularity, ruined its chance of success. On Edward's death even Northumberland's own men threw up their caps and shouted for Queen Mary.

MARY 1553—1558.

- i. *Reaction against Reformers* : due to
 - a. Mary's opinions
 - b. Influence of Crown
 - c. late excesses of Reformers
- ii. *Mary's unpopularity*
 - a. Her character
 - b. The Spanish Marriage (Philip ii.)
 - c. Submission to the Pope
 - d. The question of restoring Church lands
- iii. *Wyatt's Insurrection* 1554
Execution of Lady Jane Grey
- iv. *Reactionary Measures*
 - a. Persecuting Acts
 - b. Reconciliation with Rome
 - c. Persecution begins
 1. Its causes and excuse
 2. Its results
- v. *War with France*
Loss of Calais

(*Wakeman* 300—306)

i. *Reaction against Reformers due to*

a, Mary's opinions.

b, Influence of Crown.

c, late excesses of Reformers.

Mary was the daughter of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon. By circumstances as well as conviction she was an ardent supporter of the Papacy, and could never forget that her mother's shame had been bound up with the progress of the Reformers. Hence her coming to power inevitably brought a return to the old state of things in religion. Such a return proved to be easy, and even welcome. The influence of the Crown was now thrown into the anti-Reformation scale. The excesses of the Reformers in the last reign had caused a reaction against them; people hoped for a return to the state of affairs as Henry VIII. had left them. But Mary went further. The Reformers had shown clearly enough in their day of power that they meant to break away from the Catholic Church altogether, therefore "Conservatives" like Gardiner were disposed to welcome even submission to the Pope, in order to secure Catholic doctrine.

For a similar reason Mary desired marriage with Philip of Spain, Spain being the chief papal state in Europe.

ii. *Mary's unpopularity:*

a, her character

b, Spanish marriage

c, submission to Pope

She consequently quickly destroyed her early popularity. Austere and devout she had few outward graces, and her papal and Spanish policy were extremely distasteful to the nation at large. Both meant submission to foreign power, and England had lately come to feel, as it had never felt before, a strong national sentiment. Men were not merely members of this or that party, but were Englishmen. The secret of Henry VIII.'s great popularity was that he was a thoroughly representative Englishman, and Elizabeth enjoyed the same advantage. Mary failed in this respect. The child of a foreign mother, her sympathies were broader; sincerely

devoted to the old forms of worship, her religion was less national.

The deprived bishops were restored. Gardiner was made Chancellor. But Mary's difficulties began when Parliament met. It refused to restore the property which had been taken from the Church and it presented a petition against a foreign marriage. She therefore dissolved it and the result was an insurrection to place her sister Elizabeth on the throne. Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, was to rise in the Midlands, and Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent. The latter almost reached London but the whole rising was a failure, and Suffolk and Wyatt dragged Lady Jane Grey and her husband with them to the block. The Queen married Philip in 1554 and found him an indifferent and neglectful husband.

A succeeding Parliament proved to be more subservient. (1) Laws were re-enacted for the burning of heretics; (2) a Reconciliation with Rome was agreed upon and marked by a dignified ceremony conducted by Cardinal Pole.

The new law did not remain long unused. A bitter persecution of Reformers began in which they suffered far more hardship than they had inflicted on their opponents in the last reign. Among the prominent men who were burnt at the stake were Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Rogers. Cranmer, too, after a series of pitiful attempts to save his life, made a brave end.

*Nothing in his life
Became him like the leaving it.*

Besides these there was a host of insignificant men and even women. For three years England was given up to religious persecution.

It must be remembered that religious persecution was not an unusual procedure in those times and was used by all parties in turn. But the chief cause of it was unquestionably Mary's own religious zeal. She hoped a few severe examples would suffice to persuade her people to adopt what she sincerely thought was right. Failure only stimulated her to further efforts, and these increased her unpopularity. "By the end of the reign the smoke of the fires had obscured in the minds of the nation all memory of the misery and rapacity of the previous reign."

The Spanish marriage dragged her into war with France. Here also disappointment awaited her. England gained nothing from the victory at S. Quentin, and she lost Calais, the last of the French possessions. Political disgrace was thus added to the odium of religious persecution. Mary sank into her grave bitterly feeling that her miseries had been endured in vain and that her work had failed.

d. The question of restoring Church lands

III. Wyatt's Insurrection, 1554

(Green 363.)

Exec. of Lady Jane Grey
(Gairdner's Hist. 340)

IV. Reactionary Measures.

a, Persecuting Acts
b, Reconciliation with Rome
(Froude's England, iv. 454-459)
c, Persecution begins

(Green 364-369)

(Green 367, Froude iv. 588-599)

(Gairdner's Hist. 370-378).

2. Its causes and excuse

(Curtels 43, etc.)

2. Its effects

V. War with France
1557.

Loss of Calais.

1558.

ELIZABETH 1558—1603.

I. RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

- i. *Elizabeth's accession 1558*
 - a. Her difficulties
 - b. Her character
 - c. Other sources of strength
 - d. Her ultimate success
- ii. *Elizabeth's Religious Attitude*
 - a. Her work—The "Elizabethan Settlement"
 - b. Her difficulty due to the bad effect of the last two reigns
 - c. The attempted Settlement
 1. Act of Uniformity (1559), which ordered the 2nd Prayer Book
 - a. to attract Protestants
 - b. but modified in hope of attracting Romanists
 2. Act of Supremacy 1559
 3. General return to Henry VIII.'s position, which was generally popular
 4. Parker appointed Archbishop (1559—76)
 - a. his character and fitness
 - b. The "Nag's Head Fable."
 5. His difficult task : due to the Clergy being
 - a. ignorant
 - b. poor
 - c. lukewarm
 - d. disloyal ("Puritans")
 - e. Calvinistic
- iii. *Action towards Puritans*
 1. Irregularities tolerated at first
 2. but repressed by the "Advertisements" 1565
 3. Results
 - a. Some withdraw and become Protestant Dissenters
 - b. Others try to make the Church Presbyterian, by means of
 - (1) Cartwright's 'Admonitions'
 - (2) Prophecies
 - (3) The 'Book of Discipline'
 4. Archbishop Grindal (1576—83) acquiesces
 5. Archbishop Whitgift (1583—1604)
 - a. enforces conformity by High Commission Court and ex-officio Oath
 - b. largely from political motives
 - c. 'Marprelate Tracts' 1588
 - d. Puritans silenced
 - e. The Lambeth Articles 1595
- iv. *Action towards Romanists*
 1. Act of Supremacy 1559
 - a. offensive to Romanists
 - b. but not enforced at first
 - c. later enforced through pressure of politics
 2. Progress of the Counter-Reformation
 - a. Activity of Jesuits
 - b. Danger from France
 - c. Rivalry with Spain

3. Secession of Roman Catholics
 - a. Northern Rebellion 1569
 - b. Papal Bull forbids conformity and deposes Elizabeth 1570
 - c. "Recusants"
4. Seminary at Douai and Jesuit Missions
 - a. Stringent Persecution
 - b. Roman Catholics driven to Plots (Ridolfi and Throgmorton)
 - c. The "Association" 1584
 - d. Babington's Conspiracy 1586
 - e. Mary executed
5. The Spanish Armada 1588
6. Persecution of Roman Catholics continues

The first years of Elizabeth's reign were years of danger. She found a task of extreme difficulty awaiting her. Foreign disgrace, domestic mismanagement, social disorder, religious strife—embittered by the persecutions on both sides during the last two reigns—and an empty Treasury, combined to present a problem which might well have appalled the boldest.

What were the qualities which the new Queen possessed to cope with such a combination of difficulties? She was in her 26th year, of commanding appearance, and a keen intellect. She was an accomplished scholar. From her father, Henry VIII., she inherited her dauntless courage, her unfailing self-confidence, her impetuous will, as well as her love of popularity and splendour. She moved with free confidence among her people, pleasing them by the gorgeousness of the pageants amid which she moved from house to house; yet she could rate great nobles at her council-board as though they were naughty children. She welcomed flattery and praise even in her old age, and the number and splendour of her dresses was boundless. Yet she lived economically and worked hard in all state matters. Personal vanity and caprice changed in political affairs to shrewdness and successful diplomacy, and mainly by her own cleverness she steered England through a thousand dangers and left it strong and respected in Europe.

She was her father's daughter too in her representative character. Englishmen were beginning to realise, as has already been said, the glory of patriotism, and Elizabeth was thoroughly English. She therefore attracted to herself a fervour of patriotism which rose above all differences of opinion. Her people realised that her object was the glory of England, and nothing could shake their devotion to such a Queen. Stubbs, a Puritan whose hand she cut off for an attack upon her policy, waved the mutilated arm in the air crying "God save Queen Elizabeth."

Moreover her finger was always on the nation's pulse. She knew exactly how far to go in resisting popular demands or in

(Creighton's *Qu. Eliz.*
& *The Age of Eliz.*
& Beesly's *Qu. Eliz.*

1. *Eliz.'s Accession*
a, difficulties

(Green 369.)

b, character of Eliz.

(Green 369-376)

(cf *Kennilworth* Ch 3c)

c, other sources of strength.

(see p. 196.)

fostering popular aspirations. She pleased the people by her thrift, she encouraged their commerce, she shared in the maritime ventures which were so characteristic of the age. "Nothing" she said to her first Parliament "is so dear to me as the love and good-will of my people."

d, her success

(Creighton's *Qu. Eliz.* 367).

Gradually therefore difficulties lessened. Peace abroad, order at home, firmness and moderation of rule, a judicious spirit of compromise among warring religious parties, enabled a better spirit to grow up and a more prosperous era to begin. All this told in Elizabeth's favour. As religious controversy died down, and a glory of splendid literature arose, as commercial well-being grew and the smoky hut gave place to the chimneyed house, as London became the mart of the world and stately mansions arose up and down the country, men instinctively felt that these things had come to England because they held fast to their national unity and remained loyal to their Queen.

II. Eliz.'s religious attitude.

(*Wakeman* 307).

(*Frere* 16, 21, 26, 38)

The condition of religious matters first claimed attention. Here especially Elizabeth went back to Henry VIII.'s attitude. (1) She was convinced of the truth of the Catholic Faith and the Catholic organisation of bishops and priests, but (2) she was resolved to admit no ecclesiastical superior, least of all the Pope. But she was more constitutional in practice than her father. (1) The offensive title of "Supreme Head" was changed for that of "Supreme Governor," and (2) she realised that the state must see that the clergy did their work properly, so the royal authority was used to enforce episcopal orders.

a, Her work—The "Elizabethan Settlement."

Her great merit was that she managed to bring about what is commonly called "The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion." This was not a final settlement of *detail* but a settlement of *direction*: it settled that the English Church was to continue in a Catholic direction.

b, Her difficulty due to bad effect of last two reigns

She herself desired to return to the policy and settlement of Henry VIII. This was very fairly expressed in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., and probably the great body of the people would have welcomed that. But the religious discords of the last two reigns had so much embittered both the extreme parties that it proved impossible. (1) The "Conservative" section had become papal, "Roman Catholic" as we now call it, holding to the authority of the Pope. (2) The Reforming Party returned from their flight to Geneva and elsewhere, whither they had been driven by the Marian persecution, more revolutionary than before. In the present state of public feeling, when antagonism to the Pope and to Spain ran so high, it was inevitable that the latter section should be influential. Elizabeth therefore had to be content with re-issuing the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., which had been

c, the attempted settlement

put forth by their exertions, and which therefore they might be expected to accept. A new Act of Uniformity ordered its general use.

But changes were made in it which (1) removed suspicion of heretical tendencies and so (2) opened the way for the more moderate of the "Conservatives" to accept it.

For instance

- (a) The old form of the Words of Administration (the first half of the present form) was restored, though the new form (now the second half) was also retained. (Frere 6, 8, 27-8)
- (b) The authorisation of the Eucharistic Vestments was restored.
- (c) The 42 Articles were amended and made 39, studiously moderate in tone.
- (d) The previous denial of the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar was withdrawn.

The Act of Supremacy declared the Queen was "Supreme Governor" of the Church of England. The Marian Acts restoring the Pope's authority were repealed and Henry's Acts of Parliament re-appeared.

The reversal to the old state of things was welcomed by the nation and the clergy at large, though 13 of the bishops refused to take the Oath of Supremacy which the Act of Supremacy imposed. They were consequently deprived and those removed by Mary were recalled.

As Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker was chosen. A better choice could hardly have been made. Learned, conscientious, and mild, though definitely Catholic, he was well fitted for administering the Elizabethan Settlement. He was consecrated by four Bishops, two of whom, Barlow and Hodgkin, had been consecrated under the old unreformed Ordinal, and two, Coverdale and Scory, by the Ordinal of 1550. Long afterwards, in 1604, the absurd "Nag's Head Fable" was started. This asserted that a pretended form of episcopal appointment had been gone through at a Cheapside Tavern. It is sufficiently disproved by the complete written evidence in the Lambeth Registers, and has long since been abandoned by all responsible Romanists.

Parker set about to provide the remaining Bishops and clergy who were necessary. There were great difficulties in providing clergy through (1) the lamentable state into which Education had fallen and (2) through the confiscation of ecclesiastical endowments. Patrons often appointed their servants to benefices on condition that the bulk of the endowment was surrendered. Hooper, in a visitation of his diocese in 1552, found 168 priests who could not say the Ten Commandments, and over 30 who did not know the Author of the Lord's Prayer. Moreover (3) most men of enthusiasm had become either

Act of Uniformity orders
use of 2nd Pr. Bk.
1559

a, to attract Prots.
b, modified in hope
of attracting R.C.'s.

2. Act of Supremacy

3. General return to
position of Hy. VIII.

which was generally
popular

(Frere 33)

4. Abp. Parker 1559-
1576

(Frere 6-8, 46-3, 71
etc.)

c, his character and
fitness

b, "Nag's Head
Fable."

5. his difficult task:
due to the clergy
being

a, ignorant

(Wakeman 299)

b, poor,

(Wakeman 298)

c, lukewarm,

Calvinists or Romanists, disgusted by the readiness to change opinions which so many had shown. If we are to believe the 'Reformed' preachers, never were the clergy more ignorant, devotion more absent, immorality more prevalent, than in these days.

Hence the great difficulty in any religious settlement was to reconcile these extremists on both sides, and to attract if possible their zeal and enthusiasm. It will be simplest if we deal with each party separately, and see how the attempt very largely failed with each. Each split off from the Church of England and formed a bitter opponent.

d, disloyal
("Puritans.")
(*Church and Puritans*
Ch. 3.) Most, if not all, of the new clergy had to be drawn from the ranks of the "Reformers" and they accepted as little of the Prayer Book as they could, hoping to get its doctrine and customs altered or "purified" (hence the name of "Puritans") in a Calvinistic direction. This increased the decline of worship and religion.

e, Calvinistic.
(*Wakeman* 330.) At the same time of course the old Pre-Reformation theology was discredited, and no Anglican treatises, such as were afterwards put forth by Hooker, Andrewes, and Jeremy Taylor, had yet appeared. Even if a priest wished to learn he could only turn to the books of foreign "Reformers," who were mostly Calvinists.

(*Frere* 254, 344, 377.)
(*Frere* 282, 382.) Moreover Calvin's system attracted them by its logical completeness. It offered a definite system which was not popish, and so had great influence. It may be briefly described as teaching the doctrine of Predestination in an extreme form: each person's final fate has been fore-ordained by God from the beginning.

III. Action towards Puritans. At the same time the rivalry with Spain helped to strengthen whatever was hostile to Rome and its supporters.

1. Irregularities tolerated at first.
(*Wakeman* 335.) For some time the general disregard of authorised customs was tolerated. Parker and the Queen had no wish to go to extremes, and hoped that time would show the reasonableness of their arrangement. At length, in the hope of producing some uniformity, and in pursuance of his policy of reconciliation, Parker issued, with the Queen's approval, a set of Advertisements (the word means 'Advice'). These insisted on a minimum of ritual.

(*Frere* 44, 95, 111, 226.
Perry 287; *Curtis* 57)
2. But repressed by 'Advertisements' 1565.
(*Frere* 118-121, 167, 229.) (a) Many had refused to wear any distinctive dress in divine worship, much less to wear the authorised Eucharistic Vestments, but now the use of the surplice at least was insisted upon.

(b) Kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion was ordered.

3. Results: The enforcement of these caused the withdrawal of some from the Church altogether. They thus became the first Protestant Dissenters in England, and met at the Plumbers' Hall in

a, Some withdraw and become Prot Dissenters.

London. They held that each congregation had power to regulate all religious questions, independently of other Christians. They thus obtained the name of "Independents" and "Congregationalists."

(Frere 127.)

Though the dispute was apparently about dress and ceremonies, the struggle was really about vital doctrine. Ceremonies are unimportant in themselves, though as expressions of doctrine they are very significant. Puritans objected to ceremonies, surplices, etc., because they implied Catholic doctrine: Churchmen insisted on retaining them for precisely the same reason.

(Wakeman 354.
Frere 114.)

But many Puritans remained in the Church, and attempted, more definitely than before, to turn the Church into a Presbyterian body, i.e., a religious body not governed by bishops. Such a religious body has generally, though not necessarily, been Calvinistic in doctrine. They had no idea of Toleration. They did not ask for it or recognise it as possible. Their earnest desire was to enforce their opinions on everyone else, and it was not till all parties in turn had felt the sharpness of persecution that the idea of mutual toleration grew up. Thomas Cartwright was the most intolerant of all. Returning from Geneva with a fanatical faith in Calvinism he used his Lady Margaret Professorship at Cambridge to spread his opinions. In 1572 he put forth some *Admonitions* which attacked Episcopacy and advocated Presbyterianism and Calvinism. These views were zealously urged at the "Prophesyings" (or clerical meetings for discussion) which were then the custom, and which were consequently suppressed by the Queen.

b, others try to make the Church Presbyterian.

(Frere 126, 226.)

In 1580 Cartwright and Travers tried another method. In a *Book of Discipline* they showed how a Presbyterian system could be adapted to present circumstances. The bishops were to be bishops only in name, and were to exercise their authority by the direction of a *classis* or Board of Puritan Clergy. Similarly the Parish Clergy were to be under the control of a Parochial Committee.

(1) Cartwright's 'Admonitions.'

(Frere 155-200.
Green 468-9.)

(2) 'Prophesyings.'
(Frere 169, 186.)

(3) 'Bk. of Discipline'
(Frere 225, 247, 278.)

Meanwhile Archbishop Parker had died (1576) and Grindal who succeeded him proved to be too sympathetic towards the Puritans to suit the Queen's ideas of order. He was therefore compelled to live in retirement, and on his death she took care not to repeat the mistake of appointing an Archbishop of his lenient views. Consequently Whitgift was raised to the Primacy. He was an uncompromising disciplinarian who would tolerate no trifling with ecclesiastical vows and who insisted on conformity. The Act of Supremacy had authorised the appointment of a Court of High Commission to assist in ecclesiastical matters, and Whitgift now called it into being. He also obliged any suspected Puritan clergyman to answer on

4. Abp. Grindal (1576-1583) acquiesces.
(Frere 71, 110, 128, 191, 194.)

5. Abp. Whitgift (1583-1604.)
(Frere 156, 223, 304.)

a, enforces conformity
by H. Com. Ct. 1583.
(Frere 26, 227, 365.)

and *Ex-officio* Oath. oath (called the *Ex-officio Oath*) as to whether he was in the habit of breaking the Law.
(Frere 229.)

The truth was that he looked upon Puritan refusal to conform as similar to Roman Catholic refusal to conform. Both failed to harmonise with the national spirit of unity, and both were therefore treasonable. He thought no measures could be too harsh for such conduct, and no scruples held him back.

b, largely from political motives.

1588.

c, 'Marprelate Tracts.'

(Frere 249-254, 234.)

His view of the case received confirmation by the issue of the 'Marprelate Tracts' by the extreme Puritans. These attacked the bishops personally in the most scurrilous terms, in the very year of the Armada, when, above all, it behoved Englishmen to be at one. The Roman Catholics acted very differently in this critical year.

d, Puritans silenced.

(Frere 185.)

(Frere 227, 257.)

Under such treatment the Puritans were silenced if not convinced. (a) Public Opinion turned against them. (b) Leicester, their powerful supporter, had been absent from England for several years, and died in 1588. (c) The popular Queen consistently viewed them with disfavour. (d) Whitgift was able to mete out to them the same punishment as was meted out to the Romanists, and this was enforced by the civil courts. The result was that the more rigid and advanced left the country for a time, and the rest outwardly conformed. Silenced in the realm of religion they found an outlet for their opposition in Parliament—hence the Puritan opposition to the Stuarts.

e, The 'Lambeth Articles,' 1595.

(Frere 283, 306, 344.)

Having secured order, Whitgift made efforts to improve learning among the clergy, and being himself Calvinistic in sympathies he was not averse from making advances to satisfy the Puritans. In 1595 he proposed, in the "Lambeth Articles," to alter the 39 Articles of Religion in a Calvinistic direction. His scheme was withdrawn at the command of the Queen herself.

IV. Action towards Romanists.
(*Church & Puritans*
Ch. 2.)

1559.

i. Act of Supremacy.

a, offensive to R.Cs.

b, but not enforced at first.

It was the Act of Uniformity which mainly affected the Puritans. The Act of Supremacy affected mainly the Romanists. Its declaration that the Queen was the "Supreme Governor" of the Church was of course particularly distasteful to those who recognised the supremacy of the Pope. But for a while she treated these with as much leniency as the Puritans at first received. The Act was a powerful weapon in her armoury, but her minister Cecil received special instructions not to use it. As with the Puritans, she hoped that the moderation of the ecclesiastical settlement would in time commend itself to all reasonable Romanists.

(Frere 77.)

At first there was some hope of this. It is said that the Pope himself approved of the Elizabethan Prayer Book. Certainly many of those who owned his authority outwardly conformed and attended the services in their parish churches.

Unfortunately England was not left to work out its own religious differences. Foreign influences could not be avoided. The movement called the Counter-Reformation was proceeding apace. The Council of Trênt had reformed many abuses in the papal system, and the new Order of Jesuits, founded with the single object of reviving the Pope's authority, was everywhere winning back peoples and countries to their old allegiance. Philip II. of Spain was the most powerful sovereign in the new world as well as in the old, and Spanish ascendancy meant the ascendancy of the Papacy. France, under the family of Guise, forgot its old rivalry with Spain, and joined in the same religious cause. Wherever this common policy was pushed England was found in the way. In the new world, from the mines of which Philip drew his sinews of war, English seamen, half traders and half pirates, disputed with the Spaniards. In the Old World trading interests bound England to the Netherlands where Philip was prosecuting a stern religious war. The misfortunes of Mary Queen of Scots, who found herself at length an English prisoner, also brought England into antagonism with France and Spain.

The rising of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in the north in 1569, against Elizabeth's religious measures, was repressed with vigour and cruelty. In 1570 appeared a Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, deposing Elizabeth and forbidding conformity. Roman Catholics were thus placed in a difficult position. They had to choose between obedience to the law of England and obedience to the Pope, and the first consequence was seen in their *refusal* to attend the services in the churches. Hence the name of "*Recusants*."

About the same time a Seminary was founded at Douai by the Jesuits for the express purpose of training men for the conversion of England. In a few years there began a stream of missionaries, like Parsons, Campion, and Mayne, eager, able and dauntless, going up and down the country, openly and in countless disguises, encouraging the wavering and winning new adherents.

A severe policy of repression was adopted. Laws were passed making it treasonable to question the Queen's title or to introduce Papal Bulls. The Jesuit missions were answered by Acts making it treasonable to proselytise. The Romanists were thus made traitors in the eyes of the law, and it was hardly surprising that some of the more ardent should become traitors in fact. They became involved in the plots of Ridolfi and Throgmorton, which, under the pretence of releasing Mary, aimed at the murder of the Queen. Still more extreme Acts were passed: all Seminarists who remained in England were declared to be traitors; the sheltering of Roman Catholic

c, later enforced through pressure of politics.

2. Progress of Counter-Reformn. (Macaulay's *Essays* 555-8, Ward's *Counter Reformn.*)

a, activity of Jesuits

b, danger from Fr.

c, rivalry with Sp. (Green 417-12.)

3. Secession of Roman Catholics. a, Northern Rebellion, 1569.

b, Papal Bull forbids conformity and deposes Eliz. 1570.

(Frere 149.)

b, "Recusants."

4. Seminary at Douai and Jesuit missions (Green 407-409.)

(Frere 216, 207, 210-213)

a, stringent Persec.

b, R.C.s driven to Plots.

(Frere 150, 159, 191, 221.)

Plots.

1572-1583.

priests was forbidden ; finally, the lands of Recusants were to be forfeited.

Such a policy could not fail to produce bitter exasperation. The political supporters of Mary, among whom Philip was chief, added their inducements. It was an age of political murders, and the recent assassination of the Prince of Orange had led to the formation in England of an *Association* to protect the Queen. Parliament ratified this, and decided that anyone on whose behalf assassination should be committed, should be put to death as well as the assassins.

c, "The Association"
1584.

d, Babington's
Conspiracy 1586.
(cf. C. M. Yonge's
Unknown to History)

e, Mary executed
1587.
(Froude xii. 245-56)
(Frere 244; Green
416.)

Immediately after, a new plot, that of Babington, to murder the Queen in the cause of Mary and Roman Catholicism (for she was universally looked upon as the representative of that religion) was discovered by Walsingham, the ever-watchful Secretary of State. With great cunning he allowed it to proceed till Mary's own share in it could be proved. It was then exposed, and she was tried and executed.

Her execution brought matters to a crisis. All Roman Catholics in Europe demanded instant revenge. Elizabeth had known this would happen, and for many years she had chosen to suffer plots and intrigues, open and secret danger, rather than face the inevitable crisis before the country was ready.

5. The Armada.
Causes:

Philip of Spain was the papal champion. For years his resentment against England had been growing. (1) English help had balked him in his attempt to crush the liberties of the Netherlands ; (2) English seamen had pillaged his American conquests, captured his treasure-ships, and harassed his trade even in his own waters. He might now, at one blow, repay these insults to himself, (3) avenge the insult done to the Papacy, and (4) aid in restoring the papal power in England.

Hence was sent the "Invincible Armada." The most extravagant preparations were made, but they were ruined by equally extravagant over-confidence. There seems to have been no idea that the English would even dare to meet the Armada. It was to sail up the Channel and transport the Duke of Parma's army from the Netherlands to England.

outburst of Loyalty.
(Barnard 88-9.)
(cf. Macaulay's
Armada.)

Englishmen realised the importance of the crisis. A remarkable outburst of patriotism placed the whole country in an attitude of defiance. A small section of the Puritans alone, as has been mentioned, failed to rise to the occasion. On the other hand none did their duty or showed their loyalty more thoroughly than the Roman Catholics. The persecution they had suffered had not dulled the keenness of their patriotism, and it was one of themselves, Lord Howard of Effingham, who commanded the English fleet. This was composed largely of volunteer ships, smaller in size but quicker in movement than

(Frere 254.)

the huge Spanish galleons which moved in a stately if unwieldy crescent up the Channel.

(1) The English ships let it pass and then attacked it in the rear, favoured by the wind. In the running fight which followed they did much damage. (2) Having put into Calais harbour it was driven out by fireships, to find the English vessels awaiting it. A severe action was fought off Gravelines and the Armada was hopelessly beaten. (3) Unable to return down the Channel it could only flee up the North Sea hoping to return to Spain round Scotland. The wild storms of the northern seas shattered it into confusion, sinking many and driving more on the inhospitable reefs where half-savage wreckers, Scottish clansmen and Irish Kerns, awaited them. On the coast near Sligo it is said 1100 corpses were counted. Only a pitiful remnant ever reached home. English supplies had run short and the English ships were unable to follow their enemies. A mightier Power had crushed them, and this was expressed on the Medal which Elizabeth struck to commemorate the deliverance. It bore the words *flavit et dissipati sunt*.

(Green 417-20; *Age of Eliz.* 175-9. Froude xli. Ch. 71.)

The destruction of the Armada removed foreign danger, but it led to no decrease in the persecution of the Roman Catholics. They were excluded from all offices; priest-hunters and torture were employed; they were hounded from place to place. At length these savage methods silenced them for the rest of the reign. The sad result was that they were permanently alienated from the English Church, and they were bound together by the persecution into a compact party. Moreover being mainly a political persecution it made them a foreign-minded party, drawing its strength from abroad. This has always been its characteristic, and is very largely the explanation of its permanent unpopularity. But the Roman Catholic party, though at times it has been a political danger, as in the reign of James II., has never been really disloyal.

6. Persec. of R.C.s continues.

(Frere 244, 255, 266.)

2. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT :

SEAMANSHIP, COLONISATION, LITERATURE.

- i. *Results of Armada*
- ii. *English Seamanship*
 - a. English seamen
 - b. Beginning of Colonisation
- iii. *Social Progress*
- iv. *Literature*

The destruction of the Armada was an event of the greatest importance. (1) It not only delivered England from a great danger, but (2) it showed to the world how great England had become in the years which had passed since Elizabeth's

1. *Results of Armada.*

accession. (3) It marks also the beginning of Spanish decline. That Empire which had lately been the mightiest in the world was henceforth to shrink and fade, slowly but surely, to insignificance.

(4) It also showed to Englishmen their powers and capacities. It gave them unbounded confidence. Expeditions against Spain, in European and American seas, increased in frequency and daring. No voyage was too dangerous, no exploit too bold, for the "sea-dogs" whose deeds have made the age of Elizabeth famous. An outline only of the doings of some of them can be given here.

II. English Seaman-ship.

(a) English Seamen

(Green 413-15.

Julian Corbett's

Drake.

Fox Bourne's

Sidney;

Age of Eliz. 174, 182-5

Froude viii. ch. 47,

xi. ch. 64.

Froude's *English*

Seamen; cf. Kings-

ley's *Westward Ho!*

Barnard 180-85.)

(b) beginning of

Colonisation.

(Sidney Lee 126-9.)

In 1562, Sir John Hawkins introduced the lucrative Slave Trade with the Indies.

In 1577—8, Drake sailed round the world, plundering the Spaniards on the way.

Meanwhile Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Martin Frobisher were seeking a North-West passage, and the fascinating perils of the Arctic regions were first experienced.

In 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh planted the Colony of Virginia, so naming it in honour of the Virgin Queen. He realised that mere plundering was a not sufficient and permanent means of checking Spanish expansion. He was constantly thwarted by Elizabeth's parsimony and fear of exasperating Spain.

In 1601 the East India Co. was founded.

In 1589 Hakluyt's great Book on *Navigations and Voyages* was published. It is a storehouse of romantic details about the voyages of English sailors.

A host of adventurers roamed the sea in search of Spanish victims, not without the Queen's approval, and never without letting her share in their gains. The spirit of fear seemed to forsake the English sailors. No Spanish ship was safe from attack, and few when attacked were safe from capture. In 1590 some English merchantmen defeated an equal number of Spanish warships which had been sent against them. Tennyson has immortalised the feat of Sir Richard Grenville, who with one small ship *The Revenge* fought a Spanish fleet of fifty vessels from the afternoon on one day till daybreak of the next, and even then refused to surrender.

In 1592 Drake and Norris sacked Corunna, and in 1596 Raleigh, Effingham, and Essex sacked Cadiz.

III. Social progress

"Descn. of
England."

(Green 393-398;
Hall, *Society in
Elizn. Age.*)

The voyages and discoveries did not only bring glory and self-confidence. They aided good government to spread trade, wealth, and comfort. Writers of the day, such as Harrison, never tire of telling about the changes which their own years had seen, and how the England which had struck the Spanish Ambassadors in the reign of Mary as poor and mean was now almost in danger from luxury.

There was also an extraordinary outburst of literature. IV. Literature. Just as English mariners ransacked the world for booty, and English statesmen more than held their own against the rest of Europe, so English men of letters rose to an unequalled eminence. Here we can only mention a few names. The Earl of Surrey was the translator of part of Virgil; Chapman gave a majestic translation of Homer; Holinshed, aided by Harrison and others, compiled *Chronicles of History*. Stow's *Survey of London* is still a valuable authority on the antiquities of that city. Hakluyt's work has already been mentioned. Camden's *Britannia* is an antiquarian geography of Britain; after Elizabeth's death he wrote a valuable history of her reign. Lyly wrote *Euphues*, a romance whose mannerism of language has given its name to its style, which was satirised often in Shakespeare (especially in the character of Holofernes in *Love's Labour Lost*). Sir Philip Sidney wrote a *Defense of Poesie* against its Puritan detractors, and Puttenham wrote the *Art of Poesie*, which was an attempt at literary criticism. These were among the earlier writers. The greater outburst of the later years was ennobled by such names as those of Bacon (*Essays* in a clear unaffected style, replete with wisdom), Spenser (*The Faerie Queen*, an epic of Elizabethan England), and the dramatists Marlowe, Green, Peele, Nash, and, greatest of all, Shakespeare.

(Green 308-401, 420-42
Age of Elis. 201-18.)
 Sidney Lee.

(Gardiner & Mullin-
 ger's Intro. to Eng-
 Hist. 124-5.)

Such men made England the intellectual centre of European civilisation and culture. As national unity established itself more firmly in England than elsewhere, because here there was more freedom of opinion, all that was best in European progress came to be focussed here. "I think" says Portia in *the Merchant of Venice*, speaking of her English suitor, "he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere." The good-humoured satire was true in a larger sense. Though there were still parties which refused to unite, the bulk of the nation blended together, and assimilated much besides dress and external accomplishments. In the English Church, in the English state, in English literature, as well as in the habits of English life, there arose something which was indisputably English in spite of its varied origin.

3. ELIZABETH AND SCOTLAND.

1. Scottish hostility to the French Regent
2. Elizabeth assists to expel French: Treaty of Edinburgh 1560
3. Mary returns to Scotland 1561
 - Her rivalry with Elizabeth
 - a. dynastic
 - b. religious
 - c. personal
4. Her downfall: Carberry Hill and Langside 1567—8

5. Her escape to England
 - a. Elizabeth's dilemma
 - b. Its solution : Mary's imprisonment
6. Plots in favour of Mary
 - a. Northern Rebellion 1569
 - b. Ridolfi's Plot 1572
 - c. Throgmorton's Plot 1583
 - d. Babington's Plot 1586
7. Execution of Mary 1587

(Green 382-9.)

1. Scottish hostility to French Regent.

While Elizabeth was dealing at home with the extremes of Calvinism and Romanism, she had continually to turn her attention to affairs in Scotland. The young Queen, Mary, had been married to the Dauphin of France ; and Mary of Guise, the Queen-Mother, who was regent in Scotland, provoked violent opposition by her antagonism to Presbyterianism, which had made much progress north of the Tweed. A combination of the Presbyterian nobles, who called themselves "Lords of the Congregation," was formed to expel the French. Elizabeth, in the Treaty of Edinburgh, gave them assistance in return for a recognition of her title to the English throne. It was a dangerous policy for it might easily be construed into helping of rebels. Besides, there were many among the Presbyterians who were no lovers of monarchy at all, least of all government by a Queen. John Knox, the leading spirit in Scotland, had even written a book, called *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*, asserting that no woman was capable of ruling.

3. Mary returns 1561

Her rivalry with Eliz.

Mary's husband died in 1561 and she returned to Scotland. She had already asserted her claim to be Elizabeth's successor, if not the rightful Queen, by assuming the arms of England. She was the grand-daughter of Henry VIII.'s sister, Margaret, so she had some title to the throne ; and as she was a Roman Catholic the papal party were inclined to magnify it. Elizabeth was deterred by no motives of compassion for the young Queen, educated in a bright and cultured Court, and a zealous Romanist, now suddenly called to rule a rough and uncouth nation, ardently Presbyterian.

4. Her downfall.

(Froude vii. 384-89.)

(Green 387-9 ;
Froude vii. 512-22.)

For a time Mary's womanly tact and real beauty tamed even the bigot Knox and the unruly and self-seeking Lords of the Congregation. But she ruined all by her marriage with Darnley. She soon wearied of his coarseness and folly, and when in a fit of jealousy he murdered her favourite and Secretary Rizzio, she could not forgive him. Added to this she felt the want of a strong arm to help her. The Earl of Bothwell seemed fit for her purpose. There was the obstacle of marriage on both sides. This was removed on Mary's side by the murder of Darnley at a lonely house called Kirk o' Field near Edinburgh, probably by Bothwell and possibly with Mary's approval. The obstacle on Bothwell's side was re-

moved by the divorce of his wife. Mary's marriage with Bothwell immediately provoked a rising. She was captured at the battle of Carberry Hill, and imprisoned at Lochleven Castle. Here she was compelled to abdicate in favour of her infant son, James VI. Her escape was followed by a second defeat at Langside. She fled to England, and placed herself under Elizabeth's protection.

1567.
1568.
5. Her escape to England.
a. Eliz's dilemma.
(Froude viii. 336-39.)

Elizabeth thus found herself in a difficult dilemma.

1. To restore Mary would not only offend the Lords of the Congregation, but would re-establish a dangerous rival whose claim to the English throne, already asserted, would probably be supported by foreign Roman Catholic powers. Moreover Mary had forfeited her throne by her crimes, and her people were disgusted with her. Added to this Elizabeth knew that the successor to the Scottish throne was a child who could be no danger to England for many years.

2. On the other hand to imprison Mary in England would look unchivalrous and would certainly be unqueenly, besides providing a rallying-point for Roman Catholic disaffection.

Finally Elizabeth decided on the latter course as being the least open to objection.

- b. Its solution.

Her fears that her prisoner would be the object of plots were well-founded. As early as 1569 there occurred the *Northern Rebellion*, when the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland rose and demanded the restoration of Romanism and the release of Mary. It was speedily put down.

6. Plots in Eng. in favour of Mary.
a. Northern Rebellion.
1569.
(Green 390.)

Ridolfi's Plot occurred in 1572. The plan was to bring over Alva, with a Spanish army from the Netherlands, to set up Mary as Queen and to marry her to the Duke of Norfolk who was the leading Roman Catholic noble in England. Cecil discovered the plot and Norfolk paid for his foolish connection with it by his death.

- b. Ridolfi's Plot 1572

Throgmorton's Plot was again to call in foreign aid. The Duke of Guise, helped by Philip II., was to invade England and enthrone Mary who would of course restore the papal power. The signal was to be Elizabeth's assassination. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, was certainly concerned, and when the plot was discovered he was sent out of England.

- c. Throgmorton's Plot 1583.

Babington's Plot was one of special cleverness and daring, and into it Mary, as has been said, allowed herself to be drawn. The result was that at last Elizabeth yielded to the advice of her ministers and consented to her execution, thus freeing herself from a standing danger, though at the cost of hastening the tremendous crisis of the Armada. How that was met and averted has already been described.

- d. Babington's Plot 1586.
7. Execn. of Mary 1587.

4. ELIZABETH AND FRANCE.

- i. *Elizabeth's Policy*—to keep France divided
- ii. *The Wars of Religion*
 - a. 1st War of Religion
 - b. 2nd War of Religion 1566—70
- iii. *Spread of Toleration*
 - a. Influence of Coligny
 - b. Massacre of S. Bartholomew's Day 1572
 - c. Toleration proceeds
- iv. *Henry of Navarre*
 - a. The "League"
 - b. Battle of Ivry 1590
 - c. Establishment of Toleration : Edict of Nantes 1598

i. *Eliz.'s policy* = to keep France divided.

In the face of so many difficulties in England and abroad Elizabeth felt that her best policy towards France would be to keep it occupied at home. The rising strength of the Reformers in that country, who were called "Huguenots," enabled her to play them off against the Roman Catholic government with such effect that France was never any serious danger to England. She gave them sufficient help to make them annoying to the government, but not sufficient to make them entirely victorious. To keep France divided was her aim.

ii. *The Wars of Religion.*
a, 1st War of Religion
1562.
1563.

i. She first helped the Huguenots and their leader Condé in the "First War of Religion." But she insisted on receiving Havre in return, and this led both parties to unite in order to retake it from their old enemies.

b, 2nd War of Religion
1566-70.

2. The oppression of the Huguenots soon recommenced. (a) Jesuit influence urged it; (b) Philip II. also urged it and gave his help to the Guises; (c) Alva's successes against the Reformers in the Netherlands encouraged Charles IX. to try to do the same in France.

1569.

The Dutch Protestants joined with Elizabeth in helping the Huguenots, and though they were defeated at Jarnac, where Condé was killed, the persistency of Coligny, who took up the leadership, and the national dislike of the influence of Spain, combined to bring about the Peace of S. Germain.

1670.

iii. *Spread of Toleration.*

a, Influence of Coligny.

3. Coligny went further and even persuaded the French king to help the Dutch Protestants against the Spaniards. This led Katharine de Medici and the Guises to renew their efforts to undermine his influence with the king. They succeeded in persuading the king that he was to be the victim of Huguenot plots. The presence of large numbers of Huguenots in Paris seemed to confirm the story, though in reality they had collected to do honour to a royal marriage. In sudden panic the king let loose on them the Paris mob, always excitable and then fanatically Roman Catholic. The Massacre of S. Bartholomew's Day was the terrible result.

b, Massacre of S. Bartholomew,
1572.
(Frere 206.)

c, Toleration proceeds.

But the policy of toleration progressed, and though the prospect of Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot, becoming king,

led to the formation of a League against the Huguenots, the support which this received from Spain made it unpopular and Henry in due course was crowned. Having defeated the League at the Battle of Ivry he abjured his Protestantism, saying it was not worth while to lose Paris for the sake of a Mass. But he gave toleration to his late co-religionists and thus put an end to religious divisions. By that time England had defeated the Armada and was strong enough to look with calmness on a united France.

- iv. Henry of Navarre.
- a. The League. 1589.
- b. B. of Ivry, 1590.
- c. Estab. of Toleration : Edict. of Nantes, 1598.

5. PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

- i. *Revival of Parliament*
- ii. *Parliamentary Privileges*
- iii. *Abolition of Monopolies*
- iv. *The Elizabethan Poor Law System*
 - a. Growth of Pauperism in XVI. Century
 - b. The Poor Law of 1601
 - c. Its principles

Elizabeth was stronger than either Edward VI. or Mary, both through her character and the condition of affairs during her reign. A strong sovereign was needed to pilot England through the manifold dangers which were threatening at her accession. Therefore her government was no less unconstitutional than that of the rest of the Tudors. But signs of the coming change under the Stuarts were evident. The long torpor which had lain upon Parliament since Lancastrian days was drawing to a close.

- 1. Forced loans were taken, but were always repaid.
- 2. Proclamations still sometimes usurped the force of law, but Parliament was much more frequently used for the purposes of legislation than had often been the case.

- i. Revival of Parliament

3. Cases of illegal imprisonment were by no means uncommon; political trials were frequently conducted with disregard of justice; and the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were constantly active. But all this did not pass without remonstrance. In 1591, the Judges presented to Sir Christopher Hatton the Chancellor, and Lord Burleigh, the Treasurer, a spirited remonstrance.

(Taswell Langmead, 470.)

4. There was no instance of a royal minister being called effectively to account during the reign, but Elizabeth was especially fortunate in being served by men like Cecil, Hatton, Burleigh and Walsingham, who were of exceptional abilities and undoubted patriotism.

5. The Parliamentary privilege of Freedom of Speech, though sometimes violated, remained at any rate a right which the Speaker formally claimed at the opening of each Session and which individual members did not shrink from frequently asserting. Elizabeth, on one famous occasion, defined it as

- ii. Parliamentary Privileges.

1593.
1571.
1593.

meaning simply the right of saying "yea and nay." Strickland, for bringing forward Ecclesiastical reforms; Sir Peter Wentworth, for daring to propose that the Queen should settle the succession to the throne; and Morice in the same year, for introducing a Bill for abolishing the *Ex Officio* Oath, were all punished by the Queen.

5. The Privilege of Freedom from Arrest was strained to its utmost in Smalley's case, when the servant of a Member of Parliament fraudulently procured his own arrest so as to escape a debt which he had incurred. He was upheld in his action by the House of Commons, though not released from the debt. A Statute in the first year of the next reign finally established this privilege.

1586.

(Taswell Langmead
538.)

6. The right to determine contested elections was asserted several times, especially in the case of the County of Norfolk. There having been an irregularity in the first writ, under which a member had been elected, the Chancellor issued a second writ. A different person was then elected. In spite of the Queen's order to refrain from considering the matter, the Commons refused to allow the second writ or to accept the second member.

(Taswell Langmead
487.)

7. The right of the Commons to originate money Bills was strikingly asserted in 1593 when Francis (afterwards Lord) Bacon plainly stated the Privilege and carried the House of Commons with him.

III. Abolition of Monopolies

(Taswell Langmead
481.)

In this connection we may also notice the growth of the dislike to Monopolies. In 1571 Bell had noticed the growth of these restrictions on trade, and had been promptly repressed. In 1597 the subject was again mentioned and a promise of abatement was obtained. Finally in 1601, after four days of vehement debate, Elizabeth, with admirable tact, perceived that the time had come for her to give way. "Understanding she naively said "that divers patents which she had granted had been grievous to her subjects" she promised they should be withdrawn: "never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good."

IV. The Elizabethan Poor Law System.

a. Growth of Pauperism.

Another beneficial measure of the same year should be noticed.

The problem of the Poor became a pressing one in the XVI. Century.

1. The French War and the Wars of the Roses had caused much poverty, but this had been very largely relieved by the doles of the Monasteries.

2. The Dissolution of the Monasteries not only increased the number of the poor (through the ejected monks and nuns, and the evicted tenants of the monastic estates), but it removed the chief means of relieving them.

3. Henry VIII.'s extravagance and his debasement of the coinage in 1543, 1545, and 1546, increased the evil.

4. The rise in prices, through the discoveries of silver in South America, and the general expansion of Trade, pressed heavily on the poorer classes.

5. It also caused rents to rise, and this brought great hardship to the small farmers and labourers.

6. Enclosures of Common Lands acted in the same direction.

7. The expansion of trade broke down the Gild system, which had formerly regulated trade and relieved poverty in the towns.

Various temporary and partial measures were taken to meet the evil, but no broad and statesmanlike attempt was made to deal with it till 1601. An Act was passed in that year which has remained the basis of the English Poor Laws. It proceeded upon two principles :

b, The Poor Law of 1601.
(Green 392-3.)

1. The impotent and aged were to be relieved : there was to be work provided for the able-bodied and punishment for the idle ;
2. The scheme was to be carried out parochially.

c, Its principles.

6. ELIZABETH'S MARRIAGE PROJECTS.

- i. *Difficulties of the question*
- i. *Marriage projects*

The one subject on which Elizabeth remained obstinately in opposition to the wishes of her people was that of her marriage. She knew that she could not marry without danger. To have married either a Romanist or a Puritan would have driven the opposite party to despair. To have married either a French or a Spanish prince would have finally alienated the other nation. Her best policy was to keep the prize of her alliance dangling before the eyes of all men and of all parties, and to leave the question of the succession to the throne now settled.

i. *Difficulties of the question.*

1. So early as the first year of her reign Philip of Spain proposed himself as her husband. But for her to have accepted him would have been to declare herself illegitimate, for her own mother's marriage with Henry VIII. was only lawful if Henry's marriage with Katharine, his brother's widow, was wrong.

ii. *Marriage Projects.*

2. The Scottish Earl of Arran, the next heir after Mary to the Scottish throne, was favoured for a time, but the object was merely to weaken the Scottish government.

1560.

3. The English Earl of Leicester seemed a favourite for a long while, and he fancied his prospects were so good that he even removed his wife, Amy Robsart, to pave the way for his marriage with the Queen. But he was weak, incapable, and selfish, and Cecil's wise opposition, if not the Queen's good sense, saved Elizabeth from such a marriage.

1560-88.

4. At one time Don John of Austria, Philip's brother, seemed

1568.

to be favoured, but it was only with the object of warding off the enmity of Spain.

1570. 5. To counteract this apparent leaning towards Spain the King of France proposed his own brother the Duke of Anjou. With him Elizabeth dallied for many months, and renewed the project often afterwards, for instance in 1571, 1574, and 1578, whenever Spain seemed unduly dangerous. It was unpopular in England as was shown by the incident of Stubbs' *Gaping Gulf* (page 179).

Finally, however, she died unmarried, naming at last as her successor the king of Scotland, the great-grandson of Margaret, her father's sister.

7. GROWTH OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC.

1568. 1. *Alva's* tyranny provoked revolt, headed by Prince of Orange, who cut the dykes in self-preservation. Many weavers fled to England.
- 1573-76. 2. *Requesens* was milder. On his death his army mutinied, and plundered so savagely as to provoke a union of both Roman Catholic and Protestant Dutch in the Confederated Republic. This union was formed in the *Pacification of Ghent*.
- 1577-78. 3. Don John of Austria failed through the jealousy of Philip II.
- 1578-92. 4. *Parma* was a statesman as well as a soldier. He detached Catholic states and the remainder formed the *Union of Utrecht*. He was dangerous to England (cf. Throgmorton's Conspiracy). English volunteers went to help but Leicester was incapable and the expedition was fruitless.
- 1579.
- 1585.
1592. Death of Parma removed danger. Dutch Independence formally recognised in 1648.

8. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Lord Burleigh (William Cecil) 1520—1598. Temporised under Edward VI. and Mary. Became Elizabeth's Secretary of State, implicitly trusted, able, and loyal. Much of Elizabeth's success must be attributed to his sound judgment and industry. Succeeded by his son.

Sir Francis Walsingham 1536—1590. Ambassador to France and Privy Councillor. Favoured Puritans and consistently urged Mary's execution : achieved his object in consequence of Babington's Plot, in the discovery of which he was largely instrumental.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 1532—1588. Long a favourite candidate for Elizabeth's hand. Though without skill or capacity he was placed by her in command of forces

sent to help Dutch in 1585, and of land army at the time of the Armada.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex 1567—1601. In favour with Elizabeth and rival of younger Cecil. Failed as Viceroy of Ireland and lost Queen's favour. To regain power attempted a rising in London in 1600 but it failed and he was executed.

Sir Philip Sidney 1554—1586. Writer and Soldier. (1) Author of *Arcadia*, *Defense of Poesie*, and *Sonnets*. (2) Fought in support of Dutch in 1585 and killed at Zutphen. The story of his refusal of the cup of water when dying, because another needed it more than he, shows his ordinary chivalrous and noble nature. (Sidney Lee iii.)

Sir Nicolas Bacon 1510—1579. Brother-in-law to Cecil, and father of the author of the "Essays." Lord Chancellor. Took a leading part in proceedings against Mary Queen of Scots. (Sidney Lee 215.)

IRELAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Of course every claimant to the English Throne was sure of a welcome and support in Ireland, and both Simnel and Warbeck found friends there. In consequence Henry VII. took definite steps to prevent a recurrence of such difficulties. An Anglo-Irish Lord-Deputy, who had as often as not been the foremost in hostility to England, was appointed no more. The first English Governor was Sir Edward Poynings, who made the first statesmanlike attempt to govern Ireland. Realising that a beginning must be made in the Pale he forced through the Irish Parliament *Poynings' Act* (see page 152) which at any rate ensured that Irish *legislation*, however small might be the area over which it was effective, should be in harmony with that of England. 1495-

But beyond the Pale the vicious policy of fostering tribal feuds continued to be followed, varied occasionally, when disorder grew too dangerous, by punitive expeditions, which had little permanent effect except to increase Irish exasperation.

Henry VIII. took the title of "King" (instead of "Lord") of Ireland and tried to coax the chiefs to submission by gifts of confiscated Church lands and titles of nobility. The common people meanwhile were still further alienated by the enforcement of the Reformation—which, in England a *national* movement, was in Ireland exactly the reverse. However had Henry lived long enough he might have succeeded, but, as usual in Irish affairs, the great requisite—time—was not given. Successive plans were tried, each with elements of hopefulness. But each in turn was ruined by impatience and dislike of the 2. Henry VIII.

3. Mary.

1558.

expense incurred. The policy of Mary's reign was that of planting English settlers on the lands confiscated from rebels (hence the names of "King's County" and "Queen's County.")

4. Elizabeth.

1565.

Elizabeth, with her exhausted exchequer and characteristic parsimony, affords the most notable examples of the "hand to mouth" policy which has always been the curse of Ireland.

1. Shan O'Neil was encouraged to exterminate his rivals in Ulster, but becoming too strong was attacked by the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. His rivals were thus able to assassinate him. The confiscated lands were given to English adventurers like Essex and Raleigh, who thus became the first "Irish landlords," *i.e.*, English absentees who merely drew the rents and had no further interest in their estates.

2. The project of "planting" English settlers in Munster—chiefly Devonshire men—caused Desmond, Fitz Maurice, and Ormond to rise in rebellion. They were checked by ruthless massacres, but the project of colonisation failed in the south.

1578.

3. The second Desmond Rebellion was fomented by the Jesuits, as part of their attack on England (see page 185) and was helped by Spain. For a time it looked serious but the Ormonds were persuaded to attack their hereditary foes the Desmonds, and in terrible scenes of civil war the rebellion was ruined. Some 800 Spanish soldiers who had landed were blockaded in Smerwick and, although they surrendered, were massacred in cold blood by Lord Grey and Raleigh, under the excuse of religious zeal. The revolt having been crushed by terror fresh lands were granted to new "Irish landlords"—Raleigh, Spenser, and others.

1580.

(cf. Westward Ho!)

1584.

4. Sir William Fitzwilliam, the new Lord Deputy, despised the Irish and soon created a strong feeling of insecurity throughout the country. Everywhere the Irish felt that their national customs were in danger and their very tenure of lands unsafe. For the moment all Ireland was united in patriotic resentment.

1599.

Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, had been educated in England and had fought for England against the Desmonds. He now became a dangerous foe. He drew all Ireland to his side. The Earl of Essex had become Lord Lieutenant. He allowed himself to be beguiled into negotiations with O'Neil, who had won a victory at Blackwater and whose only object was to prevent Essex from striking. When it dawned upon the incompetent Essex that he had been befooled, he rushed back to England to explain matters to the queen. Received with coolness, and punished as he thought by the withdrawal of a monopoly which he held, he tried to force a passage to the queen's presence by arms. He failed and his act was construed into rebellion, for which he was executed.

1601.

Meanwhile Mountjoy had succeeded him in Ireland. Having subdued the country piecemeal by establishing garrisons from which flying columns made frequent raids, he finally inflicted a complete defeat on O'Neil himself (to whose aid some thousands of Spaniards had come) at Kinsale, and forced him to surrender. He was treated with leniency, but the Irish difficulty was very far from being solved.

JAMES I. 1603—1625.

- i. *James I's Title*
 - Other Claimants
 - i. Seymour
 - ii. Arabella Stuart. The Main Plot 1603
- ii. *Religious Difficulties*
 - a Puritans
 - 1 Millenary Petition
 - 2 Hampton Court Conference 1604
 - 3 Authorised Version 1611
 - 4 Parliamentary opposition
 - b Roman Catholics
 - 1 Bye Plot 1603
 - 2 Gunpowder Plot 1605
 - 3 Its lasting effects
- iii. *Parliament*
 - a Causes of difficulty
 - 1. Puritans
 - 2. James's character
 - 3. His ignorance of English affairs.
 - 4. His ideas of Royal Power.
 - 5. Parliament had gained power
 - 6. Commons were wealthier
 - 7. While Crown was poorer
 - 8. Impractical nature of the Stuarts.
 - b Parliament's gains in power during James I.'s reign
- iv. *Financial difficulties*
 - a Customs
 - 1. Bate's Case 1606
 - 2. The Book of Rates 1608
 - b The Great Contract 1610
 - 1st Parliament
 - 2nd Parliament—the "Addled Parliament" 1614 (Undertakers)
- v. *Foreign Policy*
 - 1. The German Match 1613
 - 2. The Spanish Match
 - (i.) Execution of Raleigh
 - (ii.) War with Spain 1624
 - (iii.) The Duke of Buckingham
 - 3. The Thirty Years' War 1618—48

When Elizabeth died Parliament and the nation quietly accepted James VI. of Scotland as a matter of course. This seems strange to us who know how quickly he became unpopular.

i. James I.'s title.
(See Table in
Appendix.)

His title was obtained from Henry VIII.'s sister Margaret, who had married the King of Scotland: he was her great-grandson. This line had been set aside by Henry VIII's will in favour of Suffolk, the son of his other sister Mary. But the lawfulness of the will was questionable, and it was certainly unjust. There were doubts about the legitimacy of Seymour, the representative of the Suffolk line, which made

Other claimants.
1. Seymour.

it easy to pass him over. The Lady Arabella Stuart's claims were also passed over. She, too, was descended from Margaret by a second marriage. Her claim was advanced by a few men in what was called the Main Plot. It had little effect, though it led to the imprisonment of Arabella Stuart for life when, in 1610, she united her claims with those of Seymour by marrying him.

Arabella Stuart.
Main Plot, 1603.

The religious difficulty at once came to the front. All parties had ceased their rivalry as the old Queen, who had done so much for England, lived out the last years of her long reign. The hopes of both extremes awoke afresh when James I. became king.

11. Religious difficulties.

The Puritans, that is to say those who were dissatisfied with the Prayer Book (which was virtually the one we use to-day), and who did not like government by Bishops, presented to the King, while he was on his way to London, the "Millenary Petition." It was so called because they hoped it would be signed by a thousand 'ministers.' It asked, not for the establishment of Presbyterianism, which was what the petitioners really wanted, but for the disuse of some of the Prayer Book customs, such as the use of the surplice and the wedding ring.

a. Puritans.

1. Millenary Petition
(Frere 292; Prothero 413.)

To discuss their grievances James summoned a Conference of Bishops and Puritans at Hampton Court. Here it quickly appeared that the real desire of the Puritans was to undo the religious settlement of the Reformation. To meet their wishes it would have been necessary to draw up a new Prayer Book and to abandon the order of Bishops which had been the rule of the Church since the days of the Apostles. The question at issue really was whether the Church of England should remain a branch of the Catholic Church or should become a Protestant sect.

(Frere 296-300.)
2. Hampton Court Conference. 1604.

James had had painful experience of the intolerance of Presbyterianism in Scotland. He believed that the abolition of Episcopacy would quickly lead to the abolition of Monarchy, and, expressing this belief of "No Bishop, no King," in terms more vigorous than polite, he dismissed the Conference. It was, indeed, useless to discuss details where only a revolution would have sufficed to satisfy the discontented.

(Frere 287; Green 479)

The Conference however appointed a Committee to take in hand a new translation of the Bible. In 1611 the result of their work appeared in the form of "the Authorised Version."

3. Authorised Version 1611.
(Green viii, Section 1. Harrison's Cromwell Ch. 2.)

Puritan dissatisfaction soon found vent in opposition to the King in Parliament, and thus added to the difficulties of the Stuarts.

4. Parliamentary Opposition.

The Roman Catholics, like the Puritans, hoped much from James, for his mother, the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots, had been a devoted adherent of the Papacy. They formed the Bye

b. Roman Catholics.

1. Bye Plot, 1603. Plot to get him into their hands and make sure of favourable treatment. It failed, and of course increased their unpopularity. James however, as an educated man, was anxious for toleration and remitted the Recusancy fines. This at once led many, who had hitherto been Roman Catholics in secret, to make open avowal of their faith. The result was widespread alarm, and James was obliged to enforce the persecuting laws with fresh vigour. Disappointment led to counsels of despair, and a few extreme men formed the Gunpowder Plot, to blow up King and Parliament. But one of them, anxious to save the life of one of the lords, wrote a mysterious warning letter which, by James's own shrewdness, led to the cellars being searched. There Guy Fawkes was found, watching over the powder which was to have "blown James back to his native hills."

(*Frere 289.*)

(*Green 474-6.*) This Plot, coming at a time when the Papacy was winning back on the Continent much of the influence it had lost at the

2. Gunpowder Plot, 1605. (*Frere 324-9; Green 483.*)
3. Its lasting effects. Reformation (and it has always been the misfortune of the Roman Catholics to be a foreign-minded party) had results far more lasting than it deserved. There was fresh increase in bitterness against the Roman Catholics, and severe laws, shutting them out from offices and rights, for many years. A picturesque memorial of Gunpowder Plot is the search which is still made through the cellars of the Houses of Lords and Commons before the opening of each new Parliament.

- III. Parliament. Causes of Difficulty.
1. Puritans. It has been pointed out that Puritanism, exerted through Parliamentary opposition, increased the difficulties of the Stuarts. The relations between King and Parliament soon became very different from what they had been in recent reigns. Even so late as the last reign there had been no real opposition between them, though in the later years of Elizabeth it was probably due mainly to the commanding personal influence of the Queen that greater friction did not arise.

2. James' character (*Green 477.*) With James I. all was changed. The tact which had invariably shown Elizabeth when to stand firm and when to yield was absent from the character of James. Though not without some statesmanship he had no real faculty for governing. Though learned and witty, and not devoid of shrewdness, his pedantry made him ridiculous, while his high ideas of royal rights were wholly out of date. A Frenchman cleverly described him as "the wisest fool in Christendom." Moreover, as a Scotsman he could not understand English politics or English character; and Englishmen on their part have seldom taken kindly to "foreigners." James failed, not unnaturally, to see that the Tudor 'Absolutism' had been exercised through constitutional forms and in harmony with the nation's wishes, and in any case it was quite certain that the House of Commons would now be sure to insist on far
3. His ignorance of English Affairs.
4. His idea of Royal power.
5. Parliament had gained power.

greater powers than it had previously enjoyed. These powers it had been allowed to use in order to carry out the object of the Tudors ; they remained to be used to check the Stuarts, and ultimately to make the House of Commons the principal power in the Constitution. Increased commerce and increased wealth added to the influence of the Commons, and at the same time the revenues of the Crown were seriously lessened by causes over which the Stuarts had no control.

6. Commons were wealthier.

7. While Crown was poorer.

Besides, not only were the inevitable expenses of government increasing, but the Stuarts were all extravagant. Charles I. was a great patron of art. The others were extravagant in less laudable ways : James I. squandered money on unworthy favourites like Carr and Buckingham, Charles II. on even more questionable people. Moreover James I. and Charles I. each had families for which to provide, whereas the Tudors were all practically childless.

(Green 487.)

The real cause of the failure of the Stuarts was that they were out of harmony with the age in which they lived. Their political ideas were behind the times : James had not sufficient actual knowledge of English affairs so see that, although the *theory* of royal power remained, in actual fact the supreme control was passing to the Parliament. In one department they were ahead of their age, but that very fact prevented them from receiving credit for it ; even yet we do not give the Stuarts the credit they deserve for their support of colonisation. At the accession of James I. England did not effectively possess a yard of foreign territory : under the Stuarts large tracts were obtained in North America ; voyagers sailed regularly round the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies ; there were settlements on the West Coast of Africa ; the West Indian " Plantations " were begun ; the North Polar regions attracted adventurous explorers in the hope of finding a North West Passage to India, which, under the East India Company (founded 1600), began to be recognised as a promising sphere for English enterprise.

8. Impractical nature of Stuarts.

The Stuarts and Colonisation. Ascendancy of France, 205.)

Most of this development went on unnoticed, and under the Stuarts a serious breach began between the King and Parliament, which spread to King and people, and ultimately widened till it produced Civil War and Revolution. The real political interest of the period lies in the fact that the 17th Century saw the transfer of power from the Monarchy to the Parliament. This would have happened sooner or later in any case, but the mistakes of the Stuarts hastened it.

The loosening of the bonds of sympathy which ought to link together the king and his subjects began at the very beginning of the reign ; and under James I. Parliament made great advances, and James tried in vain to maintain the royal power as he conceived he had inherited it.

b. Parliament's gains in power under James I.

(Green 490.)

1. In the first Parliament a quarrel arose over Goodwin, which secured for Parliament the *right to decide disputed Elections*.
2. Judicial and other abuses were attacked, and the practice of *Impeachment* was revived as a method of attacking powerful officers of state. Even the Chancellor, Francis Bacon, was found guilty of receiving bribes.
3. Illegal Customs and Tolls were attacked, and although James won on the question of law (cf Bate's case), much irritation was caused. Monopolies also were abolished.
4. The *Great Protestation* asserted various powers and privileges of Parliament.
5. In connection with the Spanish Match and Spanish War Parliament *claimed to discuss Foreign Policy*.
6. In voting supplies for the Spanish War Parliament *appointed Treasurers* to see that the money was properly spent.

1621.

1624.

(Green 492-3.)

1621.

From the above summary it will be seen how large a part financial difficulties played in the quarrel.

IV. Financial difficulties. (Green 483.)

a. Customs.

1. Bate's Case, 1606.
(Prothero lxxii., 340).

2. Book of Rates, 1608.

James soon became short of money, and, by the advice of Cecil, son of the great Lord Burleigh of Elizabeth's days, he levied Customs and impositions on new imports. By previous usage he was justified in doing this, but foreign trade was so much larger than it had formerly been that the right of the King to control Customs had become really important, and there was a general feeling that Customs should now be under Parliament. Bate, a Merchant of London, brought a Test Case to decide the question, and the Judges, following old precedents, decided in favour of the King. Acting on this decision Cecil issued a new "Book of Rates" reforming the Customs, but increasing their number and total amount, so that much irritation was the result.

b. Great Contract, 1610.

This increase did not meet all James's requirements, and, in order to avoid having constantly to ask Parliament for money, a "Great Contract," as it was called, was proposed :
 (a) The King was to surrender certain old feudal rights ;
 (b) In return he was to have a fixed annual revenue of £200,000.

1st Parliament.

Unfortunately the adjournment came before the matter was formally settled, and when the next Session came both parties had increased their demands and the King dissolved the Parliament in disgust.

2nd (Added) Parliament 'Undertakers' 1614.

Attempts were made to ensure that the next (2nd) Parliament should be favourable to the King, by employing agents who *undertook* to secure suitable Members. They failed so completely that this Parliament actually did nothing at all.

It therefore was called the "Addled Parliament." The financial difficulty remained to dog the steps of the Stuarts.

In Foreign affairs James aimed at being the peacemaker of Europe by harmonizing the differences between Papists and Protestants on the Continent. This was very praiseworthy, but it was bound to increase his difficulties. The nation at large desired a continuance of Elizabeth's policy of hostility to Spain, and the Puritans wished to have no dealings with Papists at all.

James desired to ally himself with both religious parties. He succeeded in marrying his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick the Elector Palatine, the leader of the German Protestants, and he proposed his son Charles as a husband for the Infanta of Spain, the chief Roman Catholic power.

This "Spanish Match" was not unwise in itself, but it is obvious it would be extremely unpopular. Earlier in the reign the peace which had been made with Spain had been violently opposed, chiefly by Raleigh, the last of the Elizabethan "seadogs." Raleigh was typical of those restless spirits. At the very beginning of the reign he had been involved in the Main and Bye Plots and had been found guilty of treason and imprisoned. He had afterwards obtained release in order to lead an expedition to Guiana to search for gold. Apparently through a mistake, his men had attacked some Spaniards. James was negotiating about the marriage, and the King of Spain demanded the execution of his old enemy. The long-forgotten sentence was revived, and Raleigh was executed. All men looked upon him as a victim to Spain and the hated Spanish marriage.

In 1623 Prince Charles, with Buckingham, who was now in high favour, went to Spain to further the marriage project in person. They failed and Buckingham's pride was insulted; he willingly fell in with popular opinion and now strongly advised a breach with Spain.

Buckingham, formerly known as George Villiers, was a man of abundant energy and self-confidence, but no real ability or discretion. His one object was his own advancement, and to further that he was ready to take any side. He obtained great influence at Court and it was said that all patronage passed through his hands. He thus called down upon himself universal dislike, which his incompetency increased.

Meanwhile the new war with Spain had other causes besides that of the failure of the marriage with the Infanta.

One of the most devastating wars which Europe has ever known had lately begun. The Thirty Years War was the final struggle of religious parties on the Continent.

The German Empire was made up of many small states, some of which had taken one side and some the other in the

V. Foreign Affairs.
a. James' Policy.

1. The German Match, 1613.

2. The Spanish Match
(Green 488.)

1616.

(i.) Execution of Raleigh, 1618.

(ii.) War with Spain 1624.

(iii.) Duke of Buckingham.

3. 30 Years' War, 1618-48.
(Wakeman's *Asc.* of France 44-6.
Gardiner's Epoch., 30 Years War.)
a. Causes.

course of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and rulers and subjects had not always taken the same side.

In 1618 the Bohemians, who were Protestants, threw off their allegiance to their ruler Ferdinand, who was a Roman Catholic, and offered their kingdom to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, James's son-in-law.

Both the King of Bohemia and the ruler of the Palatinate were Electors to the German Imperial throne, and it was contrary to German law for any Elector to have more than one vote. A constitutional question therefore complicated the revolt of the Bohemians in the eyes of James, who prided himself on his statesmanship, though of course the ordinary Englishman knew little about it and cared less.

James tried to mediate instead of sending effective help to his son-in-law as the nation desired, and he was the more anxious to bring about the Spanish Marriage in order to be the better able to mediate.

It was not till the failure of the Spanish Match that the nation saw with joy the beginning of war with Spain, which naturally was helping the Roman Catholics in Germany. Even then, Buckingham's incompetency caused the expedition which was sent to help Frederick to prove a terrible failure. Twelve thousand men were sent under Count Mansfield; but they had to go up the Rhine, and they were sent without suitable transports and sufficient supplies. Frost froze the river and killed threequarters of the army, and bitter resentment was aroused against all concerned.

b, Early successes of Roman Catholics.

Meanwhile Frederick had been defeated at the Battle of the White Mountain near Prague and lost not only Bohemia but his own dominions as well. The Roman Catholics used their successes to deprive him also of his original vote, which they transferred to Maximilian King of Bavaria.

c, War lost its religious character
(*Asc. of France*, 106-8, 133-8.)

The remaining history of the war may be briefly told. Its first stage ended with the supremacy of the Roman Catholics and the Emperor, as Ferdinand had now become. This was distasteful to Richelieu, the great French statesman, who formed a league against Ferdinand, and drew into it England and Holland. But a rising of the Huguenots (as the French Protestants were called) prevented him from sending real help, though he obtained good terms for the German Protestants in the Treaty of Prague.

d, The Settlement,
1648.
(*Asc. of France*, 123-6)

It will be seen that the war had long before this lost its religious character. The Peace of Westphalia at last ended it.

(a) The Elector Palatine was restored to his dominions and vote; Maximilian also retained his vote.

(b) Each ruler was to fix the 'Established' religion of his State, but to allow freedom of worship.

In the height of the disgust caused by Mansfield's expedition James I. died in 1625.

CHARLES I. 1625—1649.

I. FRICTION BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT.

- i. *Charles I.*
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 - b His character
- ii. *Early Difficulties*
 - a War with Spain—Expedition to Cadiz 1625
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 - 1. The King's marriage
 - 2. Expeditions to Rochelle
 - 3. War with France 1627
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 - 1. The Five Knights' Case 1627
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- iii. "*The Eleven Years' Tyranny*" 1629—40
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 - 1. Laud and Charles I.
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 - a. New Scottish Prayer Book 1637
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- f. Development of Revolutionary spirit
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 - 5. The Nineteen propositions
 - 6. Charles rejected from Hull, April 1642

I. Charles I.

- a. Title.
- b. Character.

The eldest surviving son of James I. inherited abundance of difficulty. His character was but little suited to cope with it. As absolute in ideas as his father he lacked the latter's shrewdness. His coldness stood in the way of his ever becoming a popular King, although his high personal character and devotion to what he conceived to be his duty, as well as the tragic misfortunes which closed round his later years, attracted to him romantic devotion. He was conscientious, but was easily led and devoid of tact; he was "tenacious of ends but irresolute as to means": hence he appeared at one time obstinate and at another fickle and double-minded.

II. Early Difficulties.

a. Spain.

Exped. to Cadiz
1625.

The Spanish War continued, but distrust of Buckingham prevented the Parliament from voting adequate supplies even for the popular war. With what money he could scrape together an expedition was sent against Cadiz, hoping to win popularity by a success which should recall the "singeing of the Spanish King's beard" in the glorious days of Elizabeth. But it was impossible to fit out the expedition properly, and it failed almost as badly as that of Mansfield had done.

b. France.

1. King's Marriage.

When the Spanish Marriage had fallen through Charles had turned to France. France had the more readily agreed to his marriage with Henrietta Maria because it would bring the weight of England into the anti-Spanish scale. But Charles soon found that at home it involved him in fresh difficulties with the Puritans, who little liked the form of worship which the Queen, as a Roman Catholic, of course required. Besides it was almost certain to lead to difficulties with France, for Charles would be quite unable to show the favour to Roman Catholics which he had been obliged to promise. Moreover alliance with France had never been popular. Charles speedily found, too, that Englishmen did not approve of the course of action into which it led him.

2. Expedns. to Rochelle.

(*Asc. of France*, 145.)

Richelieu desired to help the Protestants in Germany but was unable to send effective assistance till he had quieted a Huguenot revolt at La Rochelle. He asked Charles to help him to do this, and Charles could not refuse. The English people of course failed to see the real motive of the expedition: all they cared about was that English ships were sent to fight against Protestants. This so exasperated them that Buckingham

was obliged to advise war with France to remove the odium from himself. But he had failed to conduct war against one nation; he could certainly not manage wars against two. An ill-appointed fleet was sent again to La Rochelle, this time to help the Protestants. Again failure dogged the English steps, and Buckingham became more unpopular than ever.

War with France,
1627.

All this helped to widen the breach between King and Parliament. Buckingham's undue influence over the King led to his impeachment under the leadership of Sir John Eliot, but Charles dissolved the Parliament. Want of supplies led him to adopt various questionable methods of raising money, such as the attempt to raise forced loans, for refusing which Darnel and others were imprisoned. Other unwise things were done, and the Third Parliament introduced a Bill called the *Petition of Right* declaring the illegality of

c. Parliament.
(Green 497-9.)

1. Taxation without consent of Parliament.
2. Imprisonment without proper trial.
3. Billeting of soldiers in private houses.
4. Martial Law in time of peace.

1. "Five Knight's Case."

2. Petition of Right.
1628.

(Green 501-2;

Gardiner's Documents, xxiii, 1.)

Charles tried to evade giving his consent but the revival of Buckingham's impeachment forced it from him. It was the first attempt to restrict the royal power for two hundred years.

Soon after this Buckingham was murdered. At Portsmouth, while supervising the preparation of a new fleet for La Rochelle, he was stabbed by Felton, a man whom he had disappointed of promotion.

3. Buckingham's impeachment and murder, 1628.
(Green 503.)

This did not stop Parliamentary opposition. Resolutions were brought forward by Eliot complaining of violations of the Petition of Right and of religious innovations. The Speaker, by Charles's orders, refused to put them to the vote and rose to leave the Chair. He was held down by main force while the resolutions were carried in a scene of uproar and confusion.

4. Elliot's resolutions.
(Gardiner's Documents 16.)

1629.

It was an undignified ending to the Third Parliament, and Charles determined now to try to rule without a Parliament at all. This had really been the practice in former days, when Parliament had only been called when legislation was necessary or when supplies were needed.

III. "Eleven Years Tyranny."
1629-40.

(Green 514-34.)

Charles's greatest difficulty would be to provide a revenue. If that could be managed the country might be educated to the old custom of looking upon Parliament as an exceptional, instead of a usual thing. For that, time was wanted: it was necessary to carry the Scheme *through* till its object was attained. In those days they spelt the word "thorough" as we do still in "thoroughfare," so the Scheme came to be called "Thorough," and the period in which Charles dispensed with Parliament is called the "Eleven Years' Tyranny."

1. "Thorough."

The chief men who carried on the scheme in England were Weston the Treasurer (died 1635) and Laud the Archbishop; in Ireland the Earl of Strafford.

(Traill's Stafford, 68-144; Green 519-22)

Financial expedients

1. War expenses were removed by concluding peace with France and Spain.
2. Existing sources of revenue were fully used : Recusancy Fines and Fines in Courts of Justice were carefully collected, and the Court of Star Chamber became increasingly active.
3. Trade was prospering so that Customs were large and they were well looked after. Monopolies too were revived in the form of grants and privileges to Companies for colonisation and the opening up of new trade routes.
4. Old sources of revenue were revived, such as Feudal Dues and other long-forgotten payments. These irritated the nobility and richer classes.
5. Among these old payments was Ship Money, which the king levied not only on seaport towns in time of war but on all the country and in time of peace.

Most of these, were, according to the letter of the law, legal enough, as the judges decided when Sir John Hampden refused to pay Ship Money; but they were exceedingly unwise. However the country at large was well governed and trade prospered, so there was no active discontent though there was much dissatisfaction and grumbling.

3. Ship Money, 1638
(*Green* 528-9.)
(*Gardiner* xxviii.
37-54.)

IV. Religious Difficulties.

a, Rise of "Anglican" Theology.

1. Its aims.

(*Wakeman's Hist. of Church.* 335-6a.)
(*Green* 469.)

2. Charges of "Popery."
(*Green* 496, 504.)

It was through Laud that the Scheme broke down. As time went on since the breach with Rome, the best thinkers in the English Church began to see that it was not sufficient merely to set themselves against the Pope : the position of the English Church as a branch of the Catholic Church must be asserted. She had never lost the Catholic Faith or the Catholic rule of Bishops, and this side of her character became more prominent with such men as Bacon, Hooker, Nicholas Ferrar, George Herbert, Lancelot Andrews, and many others, in the later years of Elizabeth and the early years of the Stuarts.

But the spectacle of a Church which was Catholic yet in opposition to the uncatholic claims of the Pope, was new in England in those days, and even to-day we find many people who fail to see that an opinion or a practice is not necessarily wrong because it is held or observed by the Roman Catholics. If such were the case it would prevent us from using the Lord's Prayer or the Apostles' Creed ! Reason and history must guide us, but many people know nothing of Church History and still more are unreasonable. It was the same then. Laud thought however that he could enforce outward worship in accordance with the Prayer Book, even though he could not convince men's opinions, and he met with opposition similar to that which had confronted Archbishop Parker in the days of Elizabeth. But he was more determined than Parker. That was his weakness. Though really far broader-minded and

- b, Laud—Bp. of S. David's, 1621 ;
Bath and Wells,
1626; London 1628;
Abp. of Canterbury, 1633. Execd.
1645.

more tolerant than most men of his time, he tried to drive instead of lead, to crush opposition instead of overcoming it by the slower but safer method of conviction. It is always difficult to mould men's opinions: Laud tried to control their conduct. Confident of his own loyalty to the Church of England he cared little for the unpopularity he incurred, and less still for the charges of "Popery" which were freely flung at him.

Charles was ready to back him up. He sincerely believed in the Catholic character of the English Church, and was much troubled by the violent opposition of the Puritan members of it. Laud himself was but too ready to accept royal help. The result was disastrous to the cause Laud had at heart. The Church became identified with arbitrary government, and Puritanism in opposing Laud became identified with the cause of National Liberty. The strong measures which were taken had the effect of making many Churchmen become to all intents and purposes Dissenters, and the name of Puritan became applied alike to those in the Church who disliked Catholic teaching and practices, and those who were not Churchpeople at all.

Dr. Leighton was fined by the Star Chamber, under Laud's influence, for a book against Episcopacy. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton were put in the pillory for denying Laud's loyalty to the Church, which they imagined was only Protestant. The High Commission Court was also active in the same direction. A Metropolitan Visitation conducted by Laud as Archbishop, in which he enforced many things which are common enough now but which were distasteful to many then, caused irritation throughout the whole Province of Canterbury, that is to say in three-quarters of England.

It was however in Scotland that the storm broke.

Scotland for a long time had adopted Presbyterianism, that is, a form of government in religious affairs otherwise than by Bishops. Their religious opinions too were severe and sour.

Laud now issued a new Prayer Book for the Scots, and in it they scented much that was Catholic and distasteful. Large numbers of them at once drew up a Covenant to resist it, and to abolish even the modified Episcopacy which they hitherto had tolerated. Moreover they took up arms and troops had to be sent to quell them. The expense thus incurred at once broke down the Scheme of "Thorough."

The incident is called the First Bishops' War. It hardly deserves such a title for there was no fighting as Charles had no money with which to provide any opposition, and at once had to agree to the Treaty of Berwick. By this all questions at issue were referred to a Scottish Parliament which, from its place of meeting, is called the Glasgow Assembly. This

(Hutton's Laud;
Wakeman's Hist.,
363-7; Green, 509-
13.)

1. Laud and
Charles i.

2. Puritanism and
Constitutional
Government.

3. Laud's unpopu-
larity in England.
(Green 527.)

1634-7.

4. Scottish affairs.
(Green 524-5.)

a. New Scottish
Prayer Book, 1637

b. The Covenant,
1637.

(Green 529, 531;
Gardiner's Docu-
ments, 54.)

c. First Bishop's
War, 1639.

T. of Berwick.

d. Glasgow
Assembly.

1640.
e, Short Parliament. decided to continue the armed opposition, so that Charles had to call a Parliament to provide supplies. In this way the Eleven Years' Tyranny came to an end, and the Fourth Parliament met.

(Green 533.) The most prominent man in it was Pym, and under his influence the House absolutely refused to consider the question of supply until the larger question of 'grievances' had been discussed and securities had been obtained for Parliamentary government in the future. This was not at all to Charles's liking and the Short Parliament was dissolved in three weeks.

f, 2nd Bishops' War, 1640. Meanwhile the Second Bishops' War was in progress, for Charles had managed to send a few ill-armed troops northward. These could not stop the Scots who were under Leslie an old soldier of the Thirty Years' War. They advanced into England, and inflicted a defeat on the royal troops at Newburn. Battle of Newburn. Negotiations were begun at Ripon, where Charles had to agree to pay the Scots £850 a day until a permanent settlement could be made. T. of Ripon.

g, "Great Council." This only increased his need for money. Anxious above all things to avoid having a Parliament, he called a Great Council of Peers only. This was going back to very early times and it was indeed the nucleus out of which Parliament, consisting of both Lords and Commons, had grown. But it was quite out of date and it is to the credit of the Lords that they perceived this. They advised the calling of Parliament in the usual way, and Charles had to assent.

v. Long Parliament. 1640, Nov. The famous Long Parliament met in November, to be at first the champion of reform but to become ultimately at least as unconstitutional and tyrannical as the King whom it beheaded.

a, Its aims on assembling. It began, however, with no revolutionary ideas, and nothing was further from men's minds than to dethrone the King or to bring on Civil War. Its aims on meeting were :

1. To prevent illegal taxation and the arbitrary exercise of royal power.
2. to obtain control of the government, which hitherto had been always in the hands of the King.

b, "Responsibility of Ministers." The great obstacle which prevented all reform was the fact, hitherto undisputed, that government officials were responsible to the king and not to parliament. The first thing to be done therefore was to press forward the doctrine that ministers were responsible to the latter.

1, Attack on Strafford. The prime object of the attack was Strafford. He had taken Buckingham's place and had the greatest possible influence. He differed from Buckingham in being a good man, unselfish and sincerely desirous to govern well. Unfortunately his ideas did not tally with those of the stronger party in Parliament, who hated him too because he seemed a traitor to

their principles. He had begun life on their side and had indeed been one of the chief movers in drawing up the Petition of Right. After Buckingham had disappeared he seems to have felt that the danger of evil counsellors was removed. He thought the King would rule well if wisely guided, and he also saw, what after events proved to be the case, that Parliament could easily become as tyrannical as the King. He therefore, when, as he judged, sufficient safeguards had been obtained, went over to the King's side. The party he forsook never forgave him.

(Traill's *Strafford*, 32-47.)

Pym in particular pursued him relentlessly. As soon as the Long Parliament met he determined to destroy him. Perhaps he was wise, as he probably knew that Strafford recognised it was to be a struggle between them to the death.

2. Pym's Leadership
(Green 535-6.)

Strafford was impeached, on a multitude of charges relating to the Eleven Years' Tyranny. He had advised the Scottish war. He had laid himself open to attack by his government of Ireland, which he made effective and beneficial, but often by questionable methods. He had collected an Irish army for use against the Scots, and it was firmly believed that he had advised the King to use it to crush opposition in England also.

3. Impeachment of Strafford.
(Green, 537; Traill's *Strafford*, 172-206; Gardiner's *Documents*, xxxil.)

But all this could not be twisted into treason. None of the offences were treason in themselves, though Pym urged that collectively they amounted to treason. Strafford answered, effectively enough, that a thousand black rabbits did not make one black horse. More fatal too was the legal point. Strafford's whole object had been without question the strengthening of the king's authority, and in face of the letter of the law of treason, which spoke always of offences against the King, it was useless to urge that this meant offences against the State. No Court of Justice would accept a view which was entirely novel then, and it was quite certain the Lords would not. The Impeachment accordingly broke down and a Bill of Attainder was substituted. This simply asserted Strafford's guilt. It had to pass the Lords and receive the King's assent like any other Act of Parliament. The Lords accepted it. They knew the King could not throw over his strongest supporter and friend, and they did not mind removing from themselves the unpopularity of saving Strafford. Moreover, Pym frightened them by stories not without some foundation, of an Army Plot, arranged by the Queen, for bringing the army from Yorkshire to overawe the Parliament.

4. The Law of Treason.

5. Attainder of Strafford.

6. "Army Plot."

This 'Plot' also became known to the populace, and a threatening demonstration took place against the Queen, who, as a Frenchwoman and a Papist, had never been liked. To save his wife and in hopes of finding some remedy, Charles weakly gave the royal assent to the Bill. He had solemnly promised Strafford that not a hair of his head should be

touched. Strafford knew his weaknesses well. "Put not your trust in Princes" he said when he was told the king had surrendered him; and, a few days afterwards, the king's strongest supporter was beheaded. He paid the penalty of his abilities: he was too able and too devoted to the king to be spared.

7. Exec. of Strafford
1641.
(Green 539.)

Constitutional
Results.

The constitutional results of the trial were most important:

1. It extended the idea of Treason, which henceforth was not merely a crime against the king but against the State.

2. It decided that ministers of State were answerable to parliament and not merely to the king.

c. Other Reforms.

1. Ship Money
verdicts reversed.

2. Star Chamber,
etc. abolished.

Having removed such a barrier the further progress of constitutional reform was comparatively easy. The Ship Money verdicts against Hampden and others were reversed and the tax itself was declared illegal. The Courts which had been such powerful agents of the king were abolished, viz:

The Court of Star Chamber.

The High Commission Court,

The Council of the North.

3. Triennial Act,
(Gardiner's Documents, 74.)

The Triennial Act was next passed. The existing law had laid down for many years that parliament should meet annually but the king had never summoned it except when he needed it, and there was no means of calling it if the king failed to do so. It was now decided (i.) that parliament should meet at least triennially;

(ii.) Elaborate methods were provided for ensuring this if the king should not summon it;

d. Beginnings of
Revolution.

(iii.) the present parliament was not to be dissolved without its own consent.

1. Duration of Parl.

This last provision was of course quite revolutionary. It made the Parliament independent of both king and people, and it proved the source of many difficulties in the future.

2. Root and Branch
Bill.

Revolutionary also was the "Root and Branch Bill," which proposed to destroy Episcopacy. This was however only brought in to terrorise the Lords.

The House adjourned in September 1641.

The six weeks adjournment, in September and October, 1641, marks the end of unanimity in the Long Parliament. Hitherto there had been, generally speaking, a common desire on the part of the members to bring about certain reforms which should prevent the king from exercising undue power in the future. Many held that sufficient had by this time been done. But many desired to go much further, and to make the parliament absolutely independent of the king. This is what we are accustomed to now, but it was revolutionary then.

(Macaulay i. 49.)

e. The Recess.

During the recess two events occurred far away from London which greatly embittered the extreme party in parliament, and intensified the distrust of Charles.

The king went to Scotland, nominally to execute the Treaty of Ripon, really to try to get the Scots to his side. He entirely failed, and his credit was seriously injured by a mysterious attempt to assassinate Argyll and other Scottish leaders. The attempt is known as the "Incident."

1. The "Incident," 1641.
(Green 540.)

In Ireland a terrible rising took place of the Roman Catholic populace, who had long been ill-treated by the Scottish and English settlers, against their oppressors, and shocking massacres followed. Many suspected the king of being privy to it, and more feared to entrust him with means to restore order lest he should use them against his opponents in England.

2. The Irish Massacres.
(Green 541.)

When parliament reassembled, Pym and Hampden drew up a document which was intended to be a justification of their antagonism to the king. Instead of letting bygones be bygones they desired to inflame public opinion still more, and to this end they formulated the Grand Remonstrance. It was

f. Development of Revolutionary Spirit in Long Parliament.

(i.) as its name literally means, a "showing up again" of all the unpopular things which the king had done since his accession, but without, of course, giving his side of the dispute;

1. Grand Remonstrance, 1641.
(Gardiner's Constitutional Documents, 127; Green 543.)

(ii.) it contained a defence of the acts of the anti-royalist party;

(iii.) it contained demands (a) for the observance of the Petition of Right; (b) for the employment of ministers of State favourable to the Commons; and (c) for placing the Church under the control of a body appointed by parliament.

This was passed, but it at once made clear that there were now two distinct parties in the House; and when the extremists demanded that it should be printed and circulated throughout the country, the opposition strongly protested. In a scene of angry excitement, in which even swords were drawn, the proposal was carried by a small majority of eleven, and the one-sided and exaggerated statement was sent broadcast through England.

It was evident the party which issued it would be content with nothing short of absolute supremacy—over both Crown and Church. These desired revolution, and were determined to win a decisive victory over the Crown and to make the Church a Puritan sect.

2. Development of Parties in Parliament.
(Macaulay i. 51.)

The deepest and most sacred feelings on both sides were aroused, and many found themselves in a difficult position. Many were torn between loyalty to Church and king on the one side and a wish for constitutional reform on the other. Such were Lord Falkland and Edward Hyde, afterwards, as Lord Clarendon, the Chancellor of Charles ii. and historian of *The Great Rebellion*. They were fearful of what further proceedings might bring, though as zealous as any for the dignity of parliament.

3. "The Five Members."

The revolutionary party saw themselves justified when Charles made his famous attempt to arrest their ringleaders, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Strode, and Haslerig, on a charge of treason based on their dealings with the Scottish rebels. Like Cromwell afterwards, he determined to overawe the Parliament by a display of physical force, but unlike Cromwell he failed. He went in person to the House of Commons and demanded the Five Members from the Speaker. Lenthall answered that he had neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak save as the House directed. The accused members had taken refuge in the city, and Charles withdrew baffled and foiled, while cries of 'privilege' from every side showed how the house resented his conduct. The king's supporters left London; and indeed the state of feeling among the populace made their stay in the city unsafe. The Members of the king's party in parliament, some 35 Peers and 60 Commons, met at York in opposition to those who remained at Westminster. They subsequently sat at Oxford and called themselves the "Parliament." To the name they had of course as much, and as little, right as the remainder who sat at Westminster.

4. Militia Bill.
(Green 546.)

Charles had gone to the House in search of the Five Members with a band of soldiers, and the opposition retaliated by demanding control over the Militia. This was the only regular military force which the country possessed. It was becoming more and more evident that the quarrel could only be settled by an appeal to arms.

5. Nineteen Propositions.

The final demands of the anti-royalists after the withdrawal of the rest, are shown in the Nineteen Propositions. They demanded full control over Ministers of State, Church Reform, and the Militia.

6. Charles rejected from Hull.

The first definite act of 'rebellion' was the refusal of the Governor of Hull, Sir John Hotham, to admit the king into the town, which was an important military arsenal. This occurred in April, 1642.

2. THE (1st) CIVIL WAR.

Distribution of Parties

- a. Geographical
- b. Social
- c. Religious

1ST CAMPAIGN, 1642. Royalist Plan: to march on London

After skirmish at Powick Bridge Charles is opposed by Essex at *Edgehill* but proceeds to *Brentford*; retires to Oxford.

General Results: indecisive, and Negotiations at Oxford (1643) fail.

2ND CAMPAIGN 1643. Royalist Plan: Three Armies to attack London.

- i. North. Royalist victory at *Adwalton Moor* wins Yorkshire for the King; but:

- a. Hull cannot be left;
- b. Eastern Association blocks the way

- ii. *West.* Royalist victories at *Stratton*, *Lansdown Hill*, and *Roundway Down*, win Devon for the King; but
 - a. Plymouth cannot be left;
 - b. Hopton is defeated at *Cheriton* (1644)
- iii. *Midlands.* [Hampton killed at *Chalgrove Field*]

Main army cannot advance because

- a. Essex commands the main roads;
- b. Gloucester cannot be left untaken in the rear. Attempt on Gloucester fails: 1st *Battle of Newbury* (indecisive)

General Results: almost in favour of Royalists. Parliament therefore, convinced of its weakness, buys Scottish help in *Solemn League and Covenant* which

- a. Gives Parliament a temporary increase of military strength;
- b. But soon brings it into conflict with Independents (Army)

Death of Pym 1644

Rise of the Independents

- a. Their importance
- b. Their opinions
- c. Their service to Toleration

The Irish Cessation.

3RD CAMPAIGN 1644 [Parliament strengthened by (a) Growing influence of Independents; (b) Scottish help; (c) King's bringing over of troops from Ireland caused much offence.]

- a. *Royalist difficulties*:
 - 1. Advance of Scots in North
 - 2. Defeat at *Cheriton* in west
 - 3. Surrender of Irish troops at *Nantwich*
 - 4. Oxford threatened
- b. *Royalist Victories*: Jealousy between Essex and Waller enables Royalists to defeat them individually—Waller at *Crotopredy Bridge*, Essex at *Lostwithiel*
- c. *Royalist Disaster*: *Marston Moor*—North lost to King
Parliamentary army moves south and intercepts the King, on his march to London, at *Newbury* (2nd)

General Results: mutual recriminations break out between the Presbyterian Parliament (Manchester) and the Independent Army (Cromwell)

- 1. Propositions at Uxbridge (by former)
- 2. Self-denying Ordinance (by latter) creates New Model Army, and transfers military power from Parliament to Army, 1645.

4TH CAMPAIGN 1645: the irresistible New Model Army.

- 1. *North.* Montrose attempts a diversion in Scotland. Rupert starts to join him but Siege of Oxford recalls him: Royalists totally defeated at *Naseby*.
- 2. *Midlands and West.* Surrender of *Bristol* [Montrose defeated at *Philiphaugh*.]
Defeats at *Hopton Heath*, *Torrington* (1646), *Stowe-in-the-Wold*.
Charles surrenders to Scots.

Distribution of parties.

a. *Geographical.*

North.

As in the Wars of the Roses, so now in the Civil War, local divisions were seen. The king's chief centres of military activity were three: York, Oxford and the South-West. Roughly speaking a line drawn from Hull to Southampton would mark the division: the king's chief supporters were to the west of it and those of the Parliamentarians to the east.

In the north, Lord Newcastle commanded the Royalists: his headquarters at York were linked to the king's chief centre,

Oxford, by the garrison at Newark. Fairfax was his opponent, and with the port of Hull in his hands was able to offer a stiff resistance.

Midlands.

In the midlands Oxford was a convenient centre for the king to keep a watch on London, whilst it provided an admirable base for Rupert's sallies (*e.g.* Chalgrove and Cropredy).

Essex, for the parliament, held most of the country between Oxford and London, and had strong positions at Aylesbury and Reading.

South-West.

The South-west was a Royalist stronghold. Hopton, an ideal cavalier, was usually successful against the parliamentary leader Waller. There was little opposition to the king in Wales.

The king's general object was two-fold. He wished (i.) to secure the Severn Valley and so to link Wales to Devon and Cornwall; and (ii.) to capture London by converging upon it the three armies he raised in the north, the midlands, and the south-west. A difficulty in carrying out the latter plan was the danger of moving these armies while the parliamentary garrisons at Hull, Gloucester and Plymouth were unconquered. Gloucester was also the key to the former project. It was the lowest point where the wide river was bridged and was therefore the one point of easy communication between Wales and the south-west.

(*George* 147.)

Various isolated castles and towns were held for Charles: Goring held Portsmouth, and Hertford had a strong force in Somersetshire. Both failed dismally, the one through ambition, the other through strategical shortsightedness, defects which were common on the royalist side.

b, Social Division.

Socially, the king's strength lay in the nobility and gentry, and their tenants and retainers. The parliament's strength lay in the middle classes and the towns.

c, Religious Division

As regards Religion, we may say that the clergy and Church-people generally, though of course not universally, with the Roman Catholics, sided with the king; the Puritans and Dissenters with the parliament.

1st Campaign,
1642.

(*Reich, map* 24.)

On August 22nd, 1642, the king raised his standard at Nottingham. Comparatively few answered his summons and the only reliable force was a body of cavalry under Rupert at Leicester. The parliamentary troops, numerically stronger and better appointed, were under Essex at Northampton. A bold march would have scattered the royalist forces. But delay, and Hyde's skilful political tactics, gave the king a momentary advantage. Recruits poured in from Staffordshire, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and with an increased army Charles reached Derby. Here he determined to march on London at once. The idea was sound, but a misunderstanding as to the reality of war prevented its accomplishment and he went to Shrewsbury to collect his adherents from Chester and

Royalist Plan:
to march on London.

Wales. Here he issued a proclamation and admitted Roman Catholics to serve under him.

Lord Byron was sent ahead to bring money and troops from Oxford, and as he was entering Worcester he was attacked. Luckily Rupert with a body of cavalry came to the rescue and saved the escort. It was this skirmish which gave Cromwell his idea of the Ironsides. He perceived that his side must have "men of spirit who will go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else be beaten."

The king now marched for London with Essex moving alongside. The Royalists outmarched their opponents, but the result was that they found themselves in a hostile district with an enemy in their rear. They were consequently forced to fight at Edgehill. The battle might have been a victory save for Prince Rupert. He had from the beginning shown impatience of restraint, and had unwisely been freed from the commands of Lindsay, the king's Commander-in-Chief.

The Royalists were confident of victory. Rupert commanded the greater part of the cavalry on the right and was opposed by Fortescue, who was but halfhearted in his cause. The infantry on each side were placed in the centre. The battle began with a fine charge by Rupert which scattered Fortescue's men, and the royalist horse swept away in pursuit. On the left the parliamentary troops were defeated and pursued by Wilmot and the king's reserve. This left the royalist centre very weak, and it was easily pierced by Balfour, who captured the artillery and the Royal Standard. The main body of the troops was saved by the return of Rupert. Both sides then drew off, but the king was able to pursue his way to London, so that although it was a drawn battle, the Royalists' march was unchecked. On the other hand, the weakness of both sides had been displayed. It remained to be seen which would be the first to take the lesson to heart, for victory would rest with that side.

The king proceeded on his way, took Banbury, and reached Oxford. In the meantime London was in a panic. Some proposed negotiations with the king; others began to talk of a Scottish Alliance. Meanwhile Rupert made a dash on the Parliamentary camp at Brentford. This roused the Londoners, who, 24,000 strong, turned out and encamped on Turnham Green. Charles refused to try to force a passage, and retired to Oxford. This humane decision is open to criticism from a military point of view, but, right or wrong, it lost him the best chance of victory he had in the whole course of the war.

On the whole, military success in this opening campaign was divided. Goring had surrendered Portsmouth, as he found a siege gave him but small scope. Hertford had foolishly chosen

1. Powick Bridge.

2. Edgehill.

(Firth 79.)

3. Brentford.
(Firth 82.)

to make Wells and not Bristol his headquarters, and ended as a prisoner at Sherburne. Hopton had won a victory at Braddock Down; Newcastle beat the parliamentary troops at Tadcaster, but was forced to retire to York. Oxford was well-defended by a circle of garrisoned towns.

*Negotiations at
Oxford, 1643.
(Gardiner 182.)*

Both amongst the Royalists and Parliamentarians there was a strong desire for peace. Terms were offered by parliament, but as they insisted on the retention of the Root and Branch Bill, no solution was possible. A plot for a royalist rising was also discovered in the city and this had the effect of binding together the members of the parliament in a *Covenant*. Pym seized the opportunity to make the religious question prominent, and war alone could decide the issue.

2nd Campaign, 1643.

Royalist Plan: 3
armies to attack
London (Relch 24,
Firth, Harrison
IV.)

i. North.

Adwalton Moor:
North won for
King, •

but (a) Hull cannot
be left;

(b) E. Association
blocks the way.

ii. West.

Stratton, Lansdown
Hill, and Round-
way Down, win
Devon for King;
but (a) Plymouth
cannot be left;

(b) defeat at Cheriton
(1644)
checks Hopton.

iii. Midlands.

[Chalgrove Field.]

The royalist plan in the second campaign was sound. The three armies of the north, the midlands, and the south, were to advance on London. Newcastle opened the campaign successfully by beating the Fairfaxes at Adwalton Moor, thus neutralising Cromwell's capture of Gainsborough. The royalists took Lincoln and then proceeded to Hull, the stronghold of parliament in the north. But without a fleet they could do nothing. The Fairfaxes, allying themselves with Manchester and Cromwell, beat back Newcastle at Winceby, thus saving Hull and practically checking the Royalists' march south. Moreover it was now that the Eastern Association first came into notice. Cromwell was its leader, and his aim was to enlist men who had their cause warmly at heart. Thoroughly disciplined, they were the germ of the "Ironsides."

In the south the king was far more successful. Hopton was capable and energetic; Waller his opponent was a careful rather than a brilliant general, who took full advantage of the unpopularity which came to the Royalists through their plundering habits. He was defeated at Stratton, and Hopton advanced towards Bath. After a fierce struggle, Hopton again defeated the Parliamentarians at Lansdown Hill, and Roundway Down. In spite of the unwillingness of his men to leave their counties with Plymouth still untaken in their rear—a misfortune constantly weakening royalist strategy,—he entered Hampshire and took Arundel. This marked the extent of his success in the south. His next battle was fraught with great issues. If he had succeeded in defeating Waller at Cheriton, he would have brought Manchester south and thus enabled Rupert to check the Scottish advance, and he himself would have had an open road to London. His repulse drove him back to Cornwall.

At Oxford the king was inactive, for Essex held the main roads. Rupert surprised a convoy by a midnight attack, but failed to secure his booty. The skirmish resulted in the death of John Hampden, one of the leading Parliamentarians, who

had been prominent in the Ship Money case. Then followed weeks of inaction. The king's plan for his three armies was considerably checked by the unwillingness of north, west and south to leave their homes at the mercy of the garrisons in Hull, Gloucester and Plymouth. The king was in a dilemma. Should he with his Oxford force free Hopton by taking Gloucester or at once attack London? He was not strong enough to do the latter, and with the unanimous support of his council and a promise of surrender from the Governor of Gloucester, he proceeded against the western town. But the townsmen refused to surrender, and Essex marched from London with a large army collected from the train bands, and raised the siege. Both armies then raced for London. They met at Newbury. The battle raged all day but the Londoners stood firm. The field of action was split up by hedge-rows and lanes. These were held by the parliamentary troops, and Rupert's horse was useless. The fight consisted mainly of hand to hand struggles, fierce and deadly. The Royalists lost three notable leaders, Falkland, Carnarvon and Sunderland, and at length, disheartened, retired towards Oxford, leaving the road open to London. Thus the campaign of 1643 ended like the former, indecisively.

But at the close of the year four important events took place, which influenced the whole course of the war. (1) The Scots for some time had been divided into two parties, headed respectively by Argyle and Montrose. The former was supported by the Presbyterians and sided with the English parliament; the latter wished to preserve the monarchy as a defence against the rising power of democracy, and as a check on Argyle. The king refused to summon a Scottish parliament, lest it should raise an army against him. So Argyle convened the Estates and matters were furthered by the discovery of a plot for bringing the Irish into Scotland and for risings by Montrose and Hamilton. Proposals had already been made to the English Parliament, but it was the royalist victory at Adwalton Moor which really drove it to make with the Scots a religious and military alliance. Englishmen had no wish to become Presbyterians, but the Scots would not help them on any other basis than the acceptance of the *Covenant* of 1637. Parliament agreed to force on England an ecclesiastical system in accordance with the Covenant, that is, on Presbyterian lines, in return for doing which 20,000 Scottish troops would be sent to its help in England.

(2) The ratification of the *Solemn League and Covenant* was no sooner made than Pym, who had been mainly instrumental in its accomplishment, died. A clever speaker, an adept politician, he was the first great English party leader. He made his plans and clung to them. Ever ready to make opportunity

Main Army cannot advance:

(a) Essex blocks route;

(b) Gloucester must be taken.

(George 147.)

Attempt on Gloucester fails.

1st Battle of Newbury.

Solemn League and Covenant.

(Gardiner 187.

Green 550.

Firth 142. 3).

a, Increased the Military strength of Parlt.;

b, Brought Parlt. into conflict with Independents.

Death of Pym.

(Firth 48, 51.)

out of an opponent's mistake, he was indeed a "man of shrewd turns." His death deprived his party of a capable leader who had hitherto held it together.

Rise of the Independents.
(*Cromwell's Letters*,
20 and 23.
Firth 144-7.)
a, Their importance

(3) After his death the natural division between the Independents and Presbyterians soon shewed itself. The former were in reality as bitter against Presbyterian as against Episcopal authority. Their growth had a vast effect on the history of the next six years. They supplied the motive spirit, the religious enthusiasm, which ultimately overthrew the monarchy. By their capture of the army in 1645 they presently broke the Scottish alliance, and finally attempted to crush out the civil power by military force.

b, Their opinions,

(*Green* 560-3, 588-91;
G. & M. 148.)

Though agreeing in doctrine with the Presbyterians, they differed widely over the questions of Church Government and State intervention. The Independents claimed that each congregation was independent (whence the names of "Congregationalists" and "Independents") and might arrange its own rules. If they had put this logically into practice when they obtained power they would have given Toleration indeed. But they, like every other religious party in those days, proved as intolerant when in power as they had been clamorous for toleration when oppressed. Nevertheless their advance to supremacy was a step forward in the direction of religious liberty. Parliament in alliance with Scottish Presbyterianism would have petrified English religion into a rigidity beyond the wildest dreams of Papist or Anglican: from this fate at any rate England was saved by Cromwell and the Independent sect. Better to groan under the oppression of the Independents, who at least had "liberty for tender consciences" on their lips, than under the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who blankly denounced toleration as "the grand design of the Devil."

c, Their service to Toleration.

(*Wakeman's Hist.*
376-8; *Gardiner*
and *Mullinger*
151-2.)

(*Green* 468
G. & M. 147.)

Cromwell was the leader of the Independents. Coming first into notice in the Eastern Association they afterwards made up practically the whole of the New Model Army. In 1644 the retirement of Manchester and Essex left Cromwell in supreme control, and able to present an unbroken front of "Independent" enthusiasts.

The Irish Cessation.

(4) Meanwhile the Royalists were divided over the Irish question. The king had agreed to a cessation of hostilities in that country, partly because he could no longer help his friends and also because he desired to bring as many of the troops as possible into England. This agreement certainly weakened his cause in the eyes of moderate Englishmen, and at best it was a weak counterblast to the Solemn League and Covenant.

3rd Campaign,
1644.

(*Reich*, map 24.)

In the Third Campaign, the doubtful issue of the operations of the last two years led to reorganisation on both sides. The

king summoned a parliament at Oxford to put in disrepute that of Westminster, but this action only widened the breach between the two parties. The Parliamentarians at Westminster formed a *Committee of Both Kingdoms* which was to be the executive body. Its constitutional importance is (i.) that it fused together for the first time the two countries of England and Scotland, and (ii.) it was almost a germ of the Cabinet system.

The year 1644 opened disastrously for the king. The parliamentary forces were now much stronger, for in January the Scots crossed the border and threatened the Earl of Newcastle. He had meanwhile to face the Fairfaxes, and Hopton's defeat at Cheriton had enabled Manchester and Cromwell with the army of the Eastern Association to march against him also. The Irish contingent was defeated at Nantwich soon after landing, and went over to the enemy.

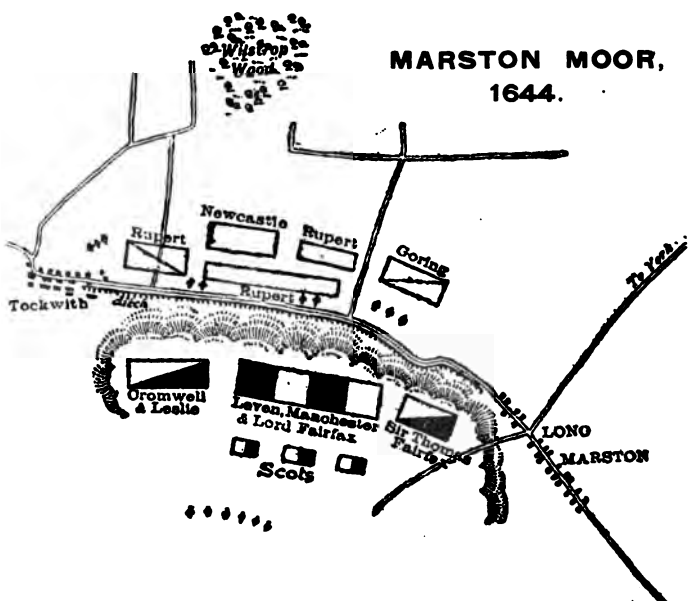
- a, Royalist difficulties.
- 1. Advance of Scots.
- 2. Cheriton.
- 3. Nantwich. (Corbett 37-40.)
- 4. Oxford threatened

At Oxford the king was threatened by the combined forces of Waller and Essex. But dissension and jealousy separated them: Essex went westwards, and Waller followed the king who retreated towards Worcester. Learning that he had only one enemy to face, the king turned and gave battle at Cropredy Bridge. He utterly defeated Waller and at once went in pursuit of Essex, whose army he forced to capitulate at Lostwithiel. Their general escaped by boat to Plymouth, which, with Taunton, alone held out against the king in the south-west.

- b, Royalist Victories
- 1. Cropredy Bridge
- 2. Lostwithiel.

But this success was more than counter-balanced by the crushing defeat of Newcastle at Marston Moor. Rupert had been sent north to help Newcastle, who was endangered by the three forces already mentioned. Relieving Bolton on the way, he joined hands with Newcastle at York. By superior manœuvring the Royalists gained a good defensive position. The battle began late in the day, and was at first distinctly unfavourable to parliament. Though Cromwell cleared the opposing musket-men and drove Byron off the field, Goring destroyed Fairfax's troops on the other wing. This exposed the infantry to flank attacks, and the centre of the parliamentary forces was pierced. But the stubborn defence of the Scots enabled Cromwell, who, unlike the Royalists, kept his men well in hand, to attack his enemy in the rear and to throw their ranks into disorder. He seized the ground left by Goring, who had pursued his enemy far off the field, and broke up the royalist cavalry. Then turning on the centre he attacked their infantry. The brave and hopeless stand of Newcastle's *White-coats* has become famous: they fell to the last man. But it could not give the victory in a battle which went to the side of order and better generalship. The results were of the greatest importance. The north went over to parliament,

- c, Royalist Disaster.
- Marston Moor;
- North lost to King.



Important results of
Marston Moor.

and Cromwell obtained an assured position as a general, and was enabled to hold his own against Manchester, his fellow-general and rival. The power of Cromwell meant the power of the Independents.

2nd B. of Newbury

(Firth 112-13.)

The victorious army at once moved south to check any royalist advance on London, which was unprotected since Essex's capitulation, or to prevent the king from reaching Oxford. Manchester and Cromwell, with Essex and Waller, met him at Newbury, where again the result was indecisive.

The king was to have been attacked by Skippon and Cromwell on the west, and by Manchester on the north-east. The former attack was half-successful, but lack of combination prevented a general onset until it was too late. The king was allowed to escape to Oxford despite the entreaties of Cromwell.

Results of the Campaign = mutual recriminations between Parliament and Army

This battle brought to light the wide difference of political and religious views which existed among the parliamentary leaders. Manchester, representing many others, did not really wish to destroy the monarchy: Cromwell certainly desired with all his heart to crush the king's power. Manchester, again, supported Presbyterianism: Cromwell, "the darling of the Sectaries" was a thorough-going Independent. A crisis was near, but there was a strong peace party in parliament who had no desire to bring matters to a head. This feeling was encouraged by the Scots who saw their chances of establishing Presbyterianism in England were being ruined.

The Royalists too were willing to end the strife. The Independents raised no objections, for they hoped to have complete control when once the Peace and Presbyterian party had been discredited.

Accordingly Propositions for peace were put forward. The Commissioners met at Uxbridge. The demands from the parliament were chiefly three :—

- (i.) Religion : the king was to take the Covenant, abolish Episcopacy, and establish Presbyterianism ;
- (ii.) Military : the army and navy were to be permanently under the control of parliament ;
- (iii.) Ireland : hostilities were to be renewed against the rebels.

The king naturally refused proposals which were equal to abdication ; but he put forward some counter-proposals conceived in a far more reasonable spirit. He promised to acknowledge the supremacy of the law and to secure toleration. The negotiations of course fell through, and the Independents at once brought forward proposals in parliament for a professional army under a definite commander.

Cromwell accused Manchester of incapacity, and was himself violently attacked in return. But he carried the day. It was agreed that there should be an army of 21,000 men to be paid by monthly assessments on counties. The next step of the Independents was to bring forward the *Self-Denying Ordinance*, by which no member of either House should hold any civil or military office of command. This at once removed Essex and Manchester from their commands. Fairfax, a fine soldier, was made commander-in-chief, and Cromwell, despite the Ordinance, was re-appointed as his lieutenant. The New Model Army, with its new commanders, was at once put into readiness to take the field.

To follow the next campaign it is necessary to notice Montrose's brilliant effort in Scotland. A fine soldier, he tried to be a Royalist and a Covenanter at the same time. It was an impossibility. Still it did not prevent his success at first. His Highlanders had their usual shortcomings. They were ready enough for pillage and plunder, but were impatient of discipline and unwilling to remain for long under arms. It was this which led to Montrose's defeat in September 1645, as it did to the Young Pretender's in 1745. But at the opening of 1645 he was successful and there still seemed a chance for the king.

The Royalists had several schemes. They hoped to found a Western Association, but it was necessary to take Taunton first. This Goring failed to do, and other things prevented the completion of the royalist plans. The parliamentary strongholds of Plymouth, Lyme and Taunton were untaken ; the

1. *Propositions at Uxbridge.*
(Gardiner 193.)

(Gardiner 204.)

2. *Self-Denying Ordinance and New Model Army, 1645 : Transferred Military power from Parlt. to Independents.*
(Gardiner 205 ; Firth 118 ; Harrison 81-87 ; Green 554-6.)

4th Campaign, 1645.
Montrose in Scotland.

(Philliphaugh.)

king's representatives in the west were incapable and unruly ; ' Clubmen ' were scouring the country and massacring either side. So the king sent for Goring and Rupert, and determined to attack the Scots and join Montrose. Immediately he left Oxford it was besieged by Fairfax and Cromwell. He therefore returned and determined to face the New Model. The general cavalier estimate of this army was one of contempt. The loss of veteran officers and of " gentlemen " in consequence of the Ordinance, made it seem an easy prey. The Parliamentarians took up a strong position on a plateau, outnumbering the Royalists by 13,000 to 9,000, but Rupert disdained even to reconnoitre properly. The battle was begun by the artillery, which did little execution. Then the infantry on both sides charged. The first line of the New Model was broken by the onset of the Royalists, who were in turn driven back by Fairfax's second line. Ireton on the left was routed by Rupert's cavalry which then attempted unsuccessfully to capture the baggage, and some of them were caught carousing in a house near by. Again it was Cromwell who won the day. Charging from the right with irresistible force, he drove the Royalist left behind its reserve. He then turned on the centre which had formed into a square. This was decimated by the combined attack of Cromwell and Fairfax. A general advance by the re-formed Parliamentary line utterly scattered the

Naseby.

(Firth 127-9;
Harrison 89-92.)

NASEBY

1645.



Result of the Battle. Royalists, who fled towards Leicester. The king's army was completely shattered ; his cause was irretrievably lost. He never had another chance. It was moreover a striking success

for the Independents. The causes of their triumph are obvious. (1) They were the first to place an organized force in the field, and (2) they had enthusiasm for their cause as strong as the Royalists had for theirs. Moreover, (3) they had a religious zeal which amounted to fanaticism.

The Royalists had but few troops left, and these only made disorganised endeavours to resist the victorious New Model, which after Naseby marched south. The King's scattered supporters were crushed in detail. Taunton was relieved by Fairfax who then proceeded against Bristol, which was held by Rupert. Goring was defeated at Langport by the superior artillery of his foes, and Rupert strangely surrendered Bristol.

Concluding Royalist losses.

Surrender of Bristol

The King in the meantime had gone west. He should have gone south, but his irresolution held him back. He forced the Scots to retire from Hereford, but the Welsh, fearing the plunderings of his followers, refused him aid. The news that Rupert had surrendered Bristol, for which he was dismissed from the Royalist army, forced the King northwards in the hope of joining hands with Montrose. Fearing the Scots, he delayed and thus allowed Leslie to go north and defeat Montrose at Philiphaugh. He then himself went north, but stayed to try to raise the siege of Chester: the result was the defeat of his last army at Rowton Heath. At the same time news came of Montrose's defeat.

(Firth 150.)

Defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh.

Hopton Heath.

Hopton, who had a poor, dispirited, and unruly army, was shut up at Torrington and forced to disband. In the same month Astley made a last but fruitless stand at Stowe-in-the-Wold.

Torrington, Mar. 1646.

Stowe-in-the-Wold.

Having subdued the west, Fairfax marched against Oxford. The King, without troops and without a refuge, was in despair. He bethought him of the differences which were widening between the Presbyterian Scots and the Army of Independents. His only hope was that he might be able to play off one against the other, and, escaping in disguise, he surrendered to the former, who were encamped near Newark.

May, 1646.

3. THE KING'S EXECUTION.

Charles I. a prisoner

- (i.) *with the Scots.*
 - a Propositions of Newcastle
 - b Departure of Scots
- (ii.) *with the Parliament 1647*
- (iii.) *with the Army.*
 - a Heads of the Proposals (of the Army)
 - b Charles's proposals to the Lords, from Carisbrooke
 - c The Four Bills, by Independents. Results of King's refusal:
 - 1. Suspicions of his honesty
 - 2. Vote of 'No Addresses'
 - 3. 2nd Civil War 1648
 - d Treaty of Newport, by Parliament
 - e Remonstrance of the Army
 - f Army supreme

1. Pride's Purge—the Rump
2. 'Agreement of the People'
3. The King's Trial
4. The King's Death, 1649

Charles a Prisoner
(i.) with the Scots.

The surrender of Charles to the Scots opened the last phase of the struggle between the Presbyterians and the Independents. The former saw in the King their final trump card, while Charles thought that neither party could do without him. In England there was some dismay at this last development, and few believed that the Scots had been ignorant of the King's intention to join them. In fact so threatening was the attitude of the English Army that the Scots left for Newcastle.

Propositions of
Newcastle.
1. Covenant.
2. Religion.
3. Militia.
(*Gardiner 208.*)

There was a strong party in parliament which desired to join in the request of the Scots that (i) Charles should take the Covenant and become a Presbyterian King; (2) Episcopacy should be abolished; (3) Control of militia and fleet should go to Parliament for 20 years. The Queen pressed Charles to agree, but for six months he delayed. As he himself said, he was waiting "till there be considerable parties visibly formed." But his delay did not bring the rival parties to blows but rather to a settlement. The Scots, wearying of his irresolution, offered to leave the country as soon as their expenses were paid. To this the English Parliament agreed, and the King was left in its hands when the Scots marched out of England. Whether they sold the King or not may be an open question. It appears that they had promised to leave the country on payment of their expenses before Charles joined them. But it is equally clear that if the King would have given way on the subject of Presbyterianism, they would still have fought for him. Their departure from England meant the downfall of the Presbyterian cause in this country, and this was further accelerated by the death of Essex.

Departure of Scots.

The last two years of Charles's life were spent in the endeavour to play off the Presbyterians against the Independents and the Parliament against the Army.

(ii.) with Parliament.

When the Scots left England Charles was taken from Newcastle to Holmby House as the prisoner of the English Parliament. From here he watched the quarrel between the Army and Parliament growing to a head. The latter wished to disband the former, but they would not pay off the arrears of pay due to the troops. This fatal policy banded together the whole Army against them, both those who set chief store by 'Toleration' and those who demanded their pay. Its petition to Parliament was treated as mutinous, but the attempt of Parliament to suppress the petitioners only succeeded in making the army a political organisation. Bad feeling was further engendered by dealings on the part of Parliament with the King for (1) the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years only, and (2) control over the militia. This the King

agreed to, reserving liberty of conscience for himself. The Scots promised him support and this laid the basis of the 2nd Civil War.

Parliament having, as it thought, secured the King's consent to its religious policy, and counting on the promised help of the Scots, voted the disbanding of the Army. Before it could be carried out Cornet Joyce in the name of the Army removed the King to Newmarket.

(iii.) Charles a Prisoner of the Army.

The tables were turned. Eleven prominent Presbyterian Members of Parliament were ordered to leave the House. They refused, and their refusal was supported by the London mob. At once the city was filled with troops and London was in the hands of the Army. Charles recognised that the Army was now supreme, and began at once to deal directly with the leaders of the Army. He was lodged at Hampton Court and every facility was given for visitors to see him. The *Heads of the Proposals* were brought forward.

a, Heads of the proposals by the Army
1. Religion.
2. Constitution.
(Gardiner 232.)

(1) The religious clauses were tolerant : they gave religious liberty to all except Roman Catholics.

(2) But the constitutional scheme was far too democratic to be possible : they demanded biennial Parliaments, and a limited power for the House of Lords.

Charles angrily refused, either because he thought each party would fall to ruin in turn if he did not support it, or because he could not justly give up those who had fought for him. The Scots urged Parliament in the meantime to renew the Newcastle Propositions, but the King demanded a personal treaty.

It is however certain that Charles knew of the dissension which was going on in the Army. The Levellers, who did not wish to make any terms with the King, were growing powerful. They were kept in check by a more moderate party, led by Cromwell and Ireton, who desired to give the King another chance. Matters were precipitated by the flight of Charles to Carisbrooke, whence he sent a proposal to the House of Lords, which was really a compromise between the demands of the Army and the Parliament. His flight was followed by an open mutiny of the Levellers at Ware, which was only crushed by the execution of the ringleaders.

b, Charles's proposals to the Lords from Carisbrooke.

The Independents made a last effort to test the King's sincerity by offering him the *Four Bills*, but Charles was already in communication with Hamilton and the Scottish Royalists. They protested against the latest proposal and the King used their protest to refuse any further concessions. He threw himself on the support of the Scots, and the consequences were serious :

c, The Four Bills, by Independents.
(Gardiner 248.)
Results of the King's refusal.

(a) It convinced the Independents that the King was only playing with them ; in less than a month he had promised a measure of toleration on the one hand and the establishment of Presbyterianism on the other.

1. Suspicions of King's honesty.

2. Vote of 'No Address.'
(*Gardiner* 267.) (b) It caused the Houses of Parliament to pass a vote of *No Addresses*, by which each House bound itself to have no further dealings with the King.
3. 2nd Civil War, 1648. (c) It caused the 2nd Civil War, by bringing to a head the general dissatisfaction. There were many Royalists ready to rise. There was general discontent at the burden of taxation, necessitated by a Standing Army. The land-owners feared lest they should lose all their property in the wave of socialism which was rising. Ireland, too, was seething with unrest.

The risings against the Government were doomed owing to disconnection between the various centres, which enabled the well-ordered regular army to suppress them in detail. The varied aims of the still more varied malcontents would have prevented any real union, for Scottish Presbyterians would never join with Irish Roman Catholics, and Parliamentarians would never unite with genuine Royalists.

S. Wales.

Essex, etc.

South Wales first rose under Poyntz, who seized Pembroke Castle and Chepstowe. Cromwell was sent there, and quickly subdued the rebels. Kent and Essex declared for the King and a large portion of the Fleet joined them. Fairfax soon concentrated the disaffection, and besieged Colchester, which, unsupported, had to surrender. There were other risings in Surrey and Hertfordshire, but all was over by the time Hamilton crossed the Border with 24,000 men. He chose the Lancashire route, and Cromwell by forced marches at length came into touch with the enemy. Though very far superior in numbers the Scots threw away all advantage by straggling, and the battle of Preston was really a three days' battle extending over a vast track of country. Cromwell deliberately let the Scots pass him and then attacked them in the rear. At Preston he utterly routed them. Dispirited, and disorganised by the vacillating counsels of Hamilton, the Scots made a retirement each night, unfortunately missing the re-inforcements coming to help them. The organised troops of Cromwell again beat the Scots at Wigan and finally caused their capitulation at Winwick. Bodies of the enemy escaped, but Hamilton was at last forced to surrender at Uttoxeter. The Second Civil War was over.

Invasion of Scots.

Preston.

(*George* 148.)

Wigan.

d, T. of Newport, by Parliament.

Whilst the Army was fighting against the Scots, Parliament, despite the vote of *No Addresses*, had been making overtures to the King. The situation was an extraordinary one. The *Treaty of Newport*, as the new negotiations are called, demanded (1) the complete establishment of Presbyterianism, and (2) the control of the Militia for 20 years : Charles offered once again the three years limit.

e, Remonstrance of the Army.

While Parliament was considering this the *Remonstrance of the Army* came, demanding (1) justice on the King, (2) pay-

ment of arrears for the soldiers, (3) the dissolution of the Parliament. Parliament replied that it was now reconciled to the King, and was resolved to continue negotiations with him. The Army promptly decided that Parliament must go the way of the Monarchy. f. Army supreme.

Accordingly on the morning of December 6th Colonel Pride excluded the leading Presbyterian members, numbering 143 out of about 200, from the House. The residue, some fifty or sixty, were merely tools in the hands of the Army, and have obtained the opprobrious name of "the Rump." They called themselves the representatives of the people, though they were but the complaisant remnant of a House chosen under quite different circumstances some eight years before. They declared they were the source of all sovereign power in England, and needed not the concurrence of King and Lords. In this way they tried to cover their actions by the cloak of legality.

Their first work was to decide the fate of the King. He was looked upon as the cause of the Second Civil War and the partisan of Presbyterianism, and therefore was obviously a constant danger to the Independents of the Army. Opinion was divided as to whether he should be deposed, assassinated, or brought to open trial. The Levellers were strongly in favour of the last course, and eventually the purged House of Commons passed an ordinance for the King's trial. This was strenuously resisted by the Lords.

At the same time the Army put forth *The Agreement of the People*, the first attempt at a written Constitution in England. The reason why such a novelty seemed necessary was that with the disappearance of the Monarchy there would otherwise be no restraining power on Parliament. It arranged for the dissolution of the Rump and stated six particulars in which there was to be no legislation. Toleration in religion was promised, but not to Churchmen or Roman Catholics. Its whole tone is marked by distrust of public opinion: it shows that the Army realised it had not the nation on its side.

A Court of Justice consisting of 135 Commissioners was summoned to try the King, but only 68 attended. The charge brought against him was really threefold:

- (1) That he had not fulfilled the trust committed to him.
- (2) That he had been the cause of the two civil wars.
- (3) That his whole government had been for his own personal interest.

The King replied with the unanswerable argument that in law no process can go against the King, and that the accusers did not represent the nation, thereby wronging even 'the poorest ploughman.' He refused to plead, and was forthwith condemned to death in the name of the House of Commons. He was executed on January 30th, 1649. Charles died bravely,

1. "Pride's Purge."

"The Rump."

(Gardiner 268.)

2. *The Agreement of the People.*

(Gardiner 270.)

3. *The King's Trial.*

(Gardiner 282, 284.)

(Gardiner 287, 290.)

4. *The King's death.*

and in a manner worthy of a King and a gentleman. There have been few better men, but few kings more irresolute. His faults lay more in his vacillation than in any real crime. He could never realise any more than did the majority of his subjects that the Tudor idea of monarchy had passed away. He could not realise any more than the Presbyterians or anyone else that toleration was the only solution of the religious difficulty. He was determined never to resign an office which was his by Divine Right ; he was equally determined to retain episcopacy as the true form of Church Government even if for a time it had to be suspended. He died a martyr to the tyranny of the Army on behalf of the people and the Church.

It is difficult to maintain the strict legality of the King's execution, and its political necessity hardly seems justified by later events. But at the time Cromwell and the Army felt they had given the King every chance and that his refusal left them no other possible solution. They failed to see that very soon they would be forced to rule even more unconstitutionally than their victim ; that just as he had failed to impress on the people his idea of government, so they would fail to enforce theirs. Just as the Divine Right of Kings had failed to justify itself, so the Divine Right of Might would equally fail. Charles's death however made the experiment possible.

THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649—1660.

I. THE REPUBLIC. 1649—1653.

- i. *Establishment of the Commonwealth*
 - a. Settlement of the Government
 - b. Dissatisfaction of the "Levellers"—crushed by Cromwell
- ii. *Reduction of Ireland*
 - a. Ormonde's Rising—Drogheda—Wexford
 - b. Cromwell's Settlement of Ireland
- iii. *Reduction of Scotland*
 - a. Montrose
 - b. Charles (ii.) in Scotland—Dunbar 1650,—Invasion of England—Worcester 1651
 - c. The Settlement of Scotland
- iv. *Foreign Policy*
 - Relations with Holland
 - 1. Commercial Rivalry
 - 2. Alliance rejected
 - 3. Navigation Act 1652
 - 4. Dutch War 1652—54—Dungeness—Portland Bill
- v. *Unpopularity of the Rump*—its ejection by Cromwell 1653

The execution of Charles I. did not bear out the hopes of the army. They had violated the law; they had transformed their opponent into a martyr; and now they were face to face with a people unwilling to accept their rule, disliking their form of religion, and quite unable to grasp their ideas. So the years from 1649—1660 saw Cromwell and the army ruling the people in much the same fashion as the Stuarts had done. It has been urged that they were justified because they did it with a conscientious conviction that they were right, but that is a dangerous plea, and can be urged with equal force by any party: conscience can make tyrants of us all. Certainly Charles I. had died for his principle that "there is no fairer form of liberty than under a pious king."

(Firth 232-4;
Harrison 131.)

(G. & M. 151-3.)

The *Agreement of the People* was soon put aside. The monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished by the Rump, and England became a Commonwealth. All was done in the name of the "People of England," to preserve the appearance of legality. A Council of State was appointed. It was composed of 40 members, most of whom were Members of Parliament. Milton became Secretary of State.

i. *Establishment of the Commonwealth.*
(Gardiner 294, 296, 297.)

a. *Settlement of the Government.*
(Gardiner 290.
Macaulay i. 60.)

b. *Dissatisfaction of the Levellers.*
(Firth 247-9;
Harrison 134.)

But this did not satisfy all the supporters of the new Government. In the army the 'Levellers' desired far more sweeping reforms; their demands for manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, and complete religious liberty strangely anticipate demands of a later century. Cromwell was despatched to Burford to settle the disturbed state of the army. This he did in his usual thorough manner.

Crushed by Cromwell.

11. Reduction of Ireland.

(Firth ch. 13;
Harrison ch. 8.)

a. Ormonde's rising.

Attention was soon diverted to Ireland, where a war, the counterpart of the Second Civil War, broke out. Ormonde, who had retired from Ireland, had returned. Dublin, Londonderry, and Dundalk, were the only towns held by Parliament, and Ormonde formed a dangerous confederacy comprising Englishmen (whom the King's execution drew to his side), Irish nobles (whom the promise of an independent parliament and of religious equality attracted), and even some of the native Irish. But the combined forces could not take Dublin, and a little later its Governor, Colonel Jones, defeated them at Rathmines. This checked the royalist cause for a time, and delayed the coming of Charles II.

Parliament realised the danger, and public opinion in England favoured the stern repression of the "rebels." Englishmen remembered the massacres of 1641. Moreover the restless soldiery found pleasing occupation in the operations in Ireland, and the new Government would not tolerate any opposition from Irishmen or Scotsmen any more than from Englishmen.

Drogheda.

(Firth 259.)

Wexford.

(Firth 260.)

Cromwell landed a few days after Colonel Jones's victory at Rathmines. With characteristic vigour he at once attacked Drogheda, into which Ormonde had thrown the flower of his army. 28,000 men were massacred in the town with Cromwell's consent. The storming of Wexford followed with a like result. Although in this case the massacre was not intentional Cromwell shewed no remorse for such extreme measures. He had come to Ireland not only to be a conqueror but to be also the avenger of the English blood shed nine years before. To himself these arguments were sufficient. The massacres which have disgraced his name certainly attained their object: Ireland lay prostrate at his feet. But they never have been forgotten, and to this day an Irish peasant's strongest malediction is to call down the "Curse of Cromwell."

Cromwell also succeeded in separating the royalist Northmen from the genuine Irish, and henceforth the war was really one between English and Irish. After suppressing his opponents in Munster, Cromwell was re-called to England. Ireton, his son-in-law, was left to finish the war, but he died shortly afterwards. Ludlow then governed the country. The social effects of this twelve years' war were ghastly. The peasants were reduced to starvation. Plague, famine and war swept away a third of the population.

b. Cromwell's settlement of Ireland.

(Firth 265.)

(a) Land.

Enormous tracts of lands were given to 'Adventurers' who had lent money to Parliament. In this way almost two-thirds of Irish property changed hands, whilst the Irish themselves were forced to live in Connaught. Thus was wrought, as Lecky says: "that lasting division between the proprietary and the tenants which is the chief cause of the political and

social evils of Ireland." In other matters Cromwell was no worse than his predecessors or successors. There was little or no toleration for Roman Catholicism. Freedom of worship was sternly forbidden. Priests carried their lives in their hands as in Elizabethan days. By the zealous teaching of Independent doctrines and by the endowment of Trinity College, Dublin, a vain attempt was made to wean the people from their faith. English laws were rigorously and impartially enforced. But, as in the case of the Normans, inter-marriage soon made the Commonwealth yeoman an Irishman and a Roman Catholic. He soon supported every movement against the great landowners who perforce had to remain true to the religious settlement which had given them their possessions. Ireland was represented in the Parliament at Westminster, but, as only non-Catholics had the franchise, the representation was a farce.

Cromwell failed, as all others had done, in his settlement of Ireland. He could only enforce outward order, but he failed entirely to convince or to conciliate. Under the circumstances it is difficult to blame him, but his measures, no more enlightened than those of the Tudors, Stuarts, or Hanoverians, were bound to prove impracticable.

Cromwell was recalled to face the growing unrest in Scotland. Montrose had made an unsuccessful attempt to gather an army for Charles II. Falling into the hands of his political rival, Argyle, he was executed. The Scots, however, proclaimed Charles as King, for they hated Independency worse than Monarchy, and were quite ready to receive Charles on their own terms. The young king left Holland, where political opinion was on the side of the Parliament, and landed in Scotland. Here he took the Covenant. This was tantamount to a declaration of war with England, and the English Government proceeded to take steps accordingly. Fairfax resigned his position as commander-in-chief either through a leaning towards Presbyterianism or through a real belief that Scotland should be allowed to manage its own affairs. Cromwell was appointed in his place and at once went north.

His ships gave him command of the sea and he kept to the coast. But he could not bring the Scots under Leslie to battle. Several times the Scottish general out-manceuvred him, once saving Edinburgh and finally actually cornering the Commonwealth army at Dunbar. Here he held them at his mercy, while disease thinned their ranks and scarcity of provisions hindered their movements. His own troops had a strong position on the hills around. But his Presbyterian advisers urged him to leave his good position and attack the enemy. Leslie did this the more willingly as he was informed, wrongly as it turned out, that Cromwell's artillery and troops were in

(b) Religion.

(c) Education.

(d) Its failure.

III. Reduction of Scotland.

a. Montrose.
(*Firth* ch. 14;
Harrison ch. 9.)

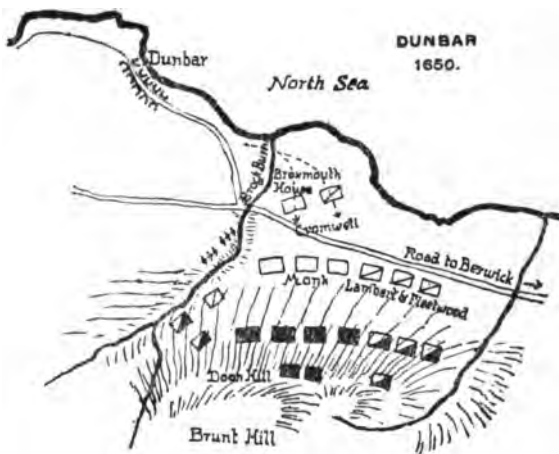
(cf. *Aytoun's Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*.)

b. Charles II. in Scotland.

(*Firth* 280.)

Dunbar, 1650.
(*Firth* 282; *Harrison* 153.)

process of embarkation. He descended to the slopes of the Doon Hill. It was a fatal move, as Cromwell perceived. "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands" he said, with that curious combination of worldly-wisdom and piety so characteristic of the Puritans. Leslie's left was cramped between the hill and a ravine. His centre was handicapped by the same hill in the rear. His horse on the right alone had



space for free movement. As the morning mists lifted and showed the position of the enemy, Cromwell gave the word to attack. "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered" he cried. Massing his troops behind some cover on his enemy's right, he made a feigned attack on their left. The Scots, though unprepared, were superior in numbers, and valiantly resisted the attack on their right after the first surprise; it was only a stubborn onset, led by Cromwell himself, which broke their flank. Cromwell gradually drove in the right and centre upon the left, and thus penned the Scottish troops in hopeless confusion between the hill and the ravine. Leslie withdrew the remnants of his shattered forces, and Cromwell at once seized Edinburgh and Leith.

The victory at Dunbar brought divisions amongst the Scots. "The kirk had done their do," and now deserted Charles. But a new party, composed of royalists and Argyle's followers supported Charles at Stirling. It was an alliance of great promise but little fulfilment.

Cromwell in the meantime had failed to bring Leslie again to battle. He marched his army into Fifeshire in order to cut off the supplies of the Royalists. In doing so he left them an open way into England.

Charles and Leslie at once seized the opportunity, and passed

through Carlisle down the west hoping to gain recruits. When they halted at Worcester but few had joined them. Cromwell followed on a parallel route through Yorkshire, calling up the militia as he went. Passing below Worcester he prevented a royalist advance on London. The Parliamentary cavalry under Lambert and Harrison had already come in touch with the Scots, and soon Worcester was hemmed in. On September 3rd a twofold attack was made on the city from east and west. The attack from the latter covered the attack from the former. Cromwell himself displayed great bravery, and after a long and severe hand-to-hand struggle the Scottish resistance was broken. Charles himself escaped south and thence to France, but few of his Scottish followers ever reached their homes, for every English county rose against them.

Invasion of England
(Firth 290.)

Worcester, 1651.
(Firth 292;
Harrison 163.)

Monk had been left with an army in Scotland, and the destruction of Leslie's forces at Worcester left that country entirely at the mercy of the Commonwealth. Only the great leaders suffered the confiscation of their property, so there was no social upset as in Ireland. Monk kept order by means of the army. Scotland was represented by thirty members at Westminster. Free Trade was established and a futile attempt was made to destroy the feudalism of the clans. Presbyterianism was stripped of its political powers, and a fair and equal system of law and justice was introduced. Though the whole measure was statesmanlike it was never popular in Scotland, imposed as it was by a conquering power. Later ages saw Cromwell's ideas revived and accepted.

c. Settlement of
Scotland.

(Firth 296.)

(a) Political.

(b) Trade.

(c) Social.

(d) Religion.

(e) Legal.

In Europe too the new Commonwealth had its troubles. France had internal disturbances and was at war with Spain, whilst the Dutch republicans were hindered from giving active help by an Orange party. But the new Government was alive to possible dangers, and this era of English history saw a wonderful revival in the navy, chiefly owing to the energy of Sir Harry Vane. Portugal was warm in the royalist cause, but with a good navy Portugal's possessions in the West Indies were crushed. It then was found necessary to turn against the Dutch. The latter were the great trade carriers of Europe. Strongly republican in political principles and Calvinistic in religion, they seemed fitting allies for the new England. But commercial jealousy stood in the way. The two nations were rivals for trade—"the fairest mistress of the world." The Dutch refused an alliance, fearing their more powerful neighbours and doubting if the new Government would last. In retaliation, England passed the *Navigation Act*, which forced all goods to be brought to England in English ships. This was a direct attack on the Dutch carrying trade. Dissatisfaction ran high, and the English enforcement of their claim to search all ships for contraband of war provoked open

IV. Foreign Policy,

Relations with
Holland.

1. Commercial
rivalry.

2. Alliance rejected.

3. Navigation Act,
1652.
(Reich 538.)

4. Dutch War, 1652-
Blake.⁵⁴

Dungeness.

Portland Bill.

enmity. The war disclosed the naval genius of Blake, one of the greatest of English sailors. As English trade was small it could be easily protected, and he was able to use his ships entirely for the purpose of attacking the Dutch. After a collision with Van Tromp off Folkestone Blake was defeated near Dungeness. But it was only a temporary check, for with Monk he crushed the Dutch off Portland Bill in July 1653. In the West Indies great damage was done to Dutch trade.

- V. Unpopularity
of the Rump.

But the war was unpopular with the Army and the nation at large. Peace was earnestly desired after the twelve years of civil war, and all supporters of the Republic disliked this war against a Protestant country. Thus the Parliament became unpopular. Moreover taxation was increasing and there was serious corruption. The legal and representative systems called for reform, but nothing was done. Parliament feared the free election of a new House of Commons, and tried to weather the storm by proposing a measure enabling its present members to retain their seats and to add to their numbers. In this way they hoped to avoid the danger of a royalist re-action. The possibility of such a re-action was not grasped by Cromwell and the army at this time, and after sundry delays, Cromwell, with an armed force, expelled the members.

- (Firth 323; Harrison
181.)

Its ejection by
Cromwell, 1653.

The scene is well-known when Cromwell told the ridiculous remnant of the anti-royalist half a House elected thirteen years before, "the Lord hath done with you." "I will put an end to your prating" he went on. Then, telling them with perfect justice that they were "no Parliament," he bade his men "take away that Bauble" meaning the Speaker's mace, the symbol of the House's power. Next day the door was found locked, with a placard upon it: "This House is to be let, now unfurnished."

The resignation of the Council of State followed, and England was again without a constitution. Bitter dissatisfaction was caused, and many refused to allow that the Long Parliament was no longer in existence. But though Cromwell's action was illegal, the continuance of the Parliament was unjustifiable. It had long ceased to be in any sense representative of the people; it was an oligarchical assembly which tried by every means in its power to prolong its unjust existence.

2. PROTECTORATE OF CROMWELL, 1653—1658.

- i. *Character of Cromwell's Rule*
- ii. *His 1st Parliament*—"Barebones' Parliament" 1653
- iii. *The Dutch War ended 1654*—Treaty of Westminster
- iv. *The Instrument of Government 1653*
 - a. *Its Provisions*
 - b. *The 2nd Protectorate Parliament 1654*
 1. Dissensions
 2. The Engagement
 3. Parliament dissolved

- v. *General Discontent*
 - a. Disaffection in Army
 - b. Penruddock's Rebellion
 - c. The Majors-General
- vi. *Cromwell's Foreign Policy*
 - a. Spain
 - b. West Indies
 - c. Mediterranean
 - d. France and the Vaudois—Dunkirk
 - e. The Northern Alliance
- vii. *Cromwell's Domestic Policy*
- viii. *The Humble Petition and Advice*
 - a. 3rd Parliament
 - b. The Humble Petition and Advice 1657
 - c. 4th Parliament
- ix. Death of Cromwell 1658. His character and work

The period of Cromwell's rule was a time of national glory and prosperity for England, but there was no real internal peace and there was no idea of final settlement. The Protector was filled with the idea that he was entrusted with a mission to bring good government to his country, and he did not much care about the means he used. His "good government" meant the dominion of the army and the exclusion of the Stuarts and Churchpeople. He did not wish to rule by the sword, but was forced to do so because the nation as a whole loathed the army, sympathised with episcopacy, and had no inherent dislike to monarchy. This explains Cromwell's failure to govern by anything like a representative Parliament. He could not trust the nation to do what he felt was right and necessary for its welfare.

i. *Character of Cromwell's Rule.*
(*Firth* ch. 16;
Macaulay i., 68;
Harrison ch. 11.)

Cromwell, as commander-in-chief of the Army, was, by the disappearance of the Parliament, left as the only authority in the Kingdom. He had no desire to be dictator and he took measures to relieve himself from such a position. There were two parties in the army. Lambert headed the one, which desired a small council of 'godly men,' Harrison was leader of the other, the "Fifth Monarchy men," who wished to introduce the Jewish form of government. The result was a compromise. In each county the Congregationalists were asked to send representatives to Westminster—"known persons, men fearing God, of approved integrity." From these, 140 were chosen, with six others for Scotland, and five for Ireland. Such was Cromwell's first constructive effort. It is interesting as being the first time all three kingdoms were represented at Westminster. This "Parliament" of Puritan Nominees has been called the Barebones Parliament. It set to work vigorously to carry on the Dutch War, and to reform the law. But its 'godliness' was soon found to be utterly unpracticable. It threatened to abolish tithes, the Court of Chancery, and the army, and had no substitutes to fill the

ii. *The Puritan Convention, 1653.*
"Barebones" or
"Little Parliament."
(*Firth* 329; *Gardiner* 313.)

places of these. It declared that the time had come for the Saints to rule. The ideal was impossible and the nation looked to Cromwell to end it. He, full of his mission as "the constable to keep the peace of the parish," determined to do so. There was in the House a small minority of level-headed men, and they suddenly in the name of Parliament resigned. The reign of the Saints was over.

iii. The Dutch War ended.

Before another Parliament met the Dutch War was ended. It was unpopular both in England and Holland. In England the army, the merchants, and the people at large objected to it from religious, personal and commercial reasons. In Holland the rise of the Orange party and defeats off the North Foreland and the Texel forced the Dutch to come to terms. By the Treaty of Westminster the Dutch promised (1) to expel English royalists and the House of Orange, (2) to give England commercial equality, (3) to salute the English Flag in English waters.

T. of Westminster, 1653.

iv. Instrument of Government, 1653 (Gardiner 314.)

The next experiment was the *Instrument of Government*, drawn up by the Council of Officers. A definite and written constitution, instead of the accumulation of precedents and customs which many centuries had handed down, was a novelty in England, and the *Instrument* may be compared with the Constitution of the United States of America drawn up in 1789.

a. Its provisions.

Its main provisions were as follows :

i. Protector.

(1) The Legislative power was placed in the hands of a Protector and Parliament ;

ii. Executive.

(2) The Executive was to consist of a nominated Council and a Protector whose office was elective ;

iii. Legislature.

(3) Parliament was to meet every three years and to sit for at least five months ;

(4) Parliament alone could levy supplies and taxes, and could insist on the passing of its laws.

It was a good constitution. The Protector's power was very limited and even Parliament might not pass any law contrary to the constitution. It only remained to be seen how it would work.

The 2nd Protectorate Parliament, 1654.

The new Parliament which met was fairly representative, though no votes were allowed to Roman Catholics or Churchmen. Under the leadership of Vane it at once began to discuss the very constitution which gave it existence, and to debate whether the government should be in the hands of a single person or the Parliament. This was really a revival of the struggle between Parliament and the army. The former had been the creation of the latter and now wished to assert its independence. Cromwell feared lest it should alter the constitution, so he laid before it an *Engagement* by which all were to promise not to interfere with the government as

1. Dissensions.

2. The Engagement

established. Over 100 out of the 400 members refused to sign and were expelled. Even the remainder attacked the Protector's position, by insisting that Parliament had the power to alter the Instrument, to fix religious dogmas and to limit the power of the army. Cromwell had to endure this for five months, which was the period fixed by the Instrument for Parliament's duration. Then, interpreting the words as 'lunar months,' he dissolved the Parliament at the earliest opportunity. His second attempt at some sort of constitutional government was a failure like the first.

The indignation in England at having Congregationalism forced upon it by an army of 50,000 men, began to find vent. People looked back to the days of Church and King with regret. Risings began to break out. In Scotland there was a plot to seize Monk, bring his army up to London, and overturn the Government. In Ireland, a pamphlet, *Killing no Murder*, was distributed amongst the troops and caused widespread disaffection. Royalist agents roamed over the country. A plan for the massacre of Protestants was discovered. In the west of England an open rebellion broke out, and two hundred men under Penruddock seized Salisbury. They were quickly suppressed but the incident showed the spirit of the country.

To stop any further risings, England was divided into some ten districts, each under a Major-General. These were empowered to keep order and to levy a tax of ten per cent. on all royalists. The country in fact was placed under martial law, and Cromwell had been forced to adopt arbitrary government. Such a government was unpopular not because of the harshness of the new rulers, for they governed well and kept good order, but because England did not like to be driven by Cromwell any more than by Charles. The Protector's own life was threatened more than once, and Colonel Saxby's pamphlet *Killing no Murder*, which began with the words "To your Highness belongs rightly the honour of dying for the people" was typical of the general attitude.

The foreign affairs of the Protectorate were temporarily successful. Cromwell had three main objects: the support of Protestantism, the furthering of commerce, and the exclusion of the Stuarts. He has been happily called the "Protestant Commercial Bagman of Europe," and well he pushed his wares: the importance of England during his reign made them worth having. Never from the days of Elizabeth to those of Anne did England hold so great a position in Europe as under Cromwell. She was a power which no European statesman, not even Mazarin the great French minister, could overlook. Both Spain and France sought her friendship. France offered Dunkirk, and Spain Calais; but in each case the English would have to take the town by force. On the

3. Parliament dissolved.
(Firth 410.)

v. General discontent.
a. Disaffection in Army.

b. Penruddock's Rebellion, 1655.

c. Majors-General.

vi. Cromwell's Foreign Policy.
(Wakeman 131.
Macaulay i. 68.
Firth ch. 18, 19.
Harrison ch. 13.
Expansion of England, 112-7.)

(a) Spain.

other hand England wished to help the Huguenots, and to tap the Spanish monopoly of trade in the West Indies. Spain refused Cromwell's demands for liberty of conscience in the Spanish Empire and free trade in the West Indies. To ask this was, the Spanish Ambassador said, "to ask his master's two eyes."

(b) West Indies.

(c) Mediterranean.

The West Indies were therefore attacked, at first with failure, later with brilliant success. Penn and Venables failed to take San Domingo but captured Jamaica. Blake destroyed the pirates of Tunis and Algiers, and then blockaded Spain: Cromwell even urged him to take Gibraltar. The Spanish fleet lay idle and the silver convoy was captured on its way from America to Spain. Blake's last battle at Santa Cruz in Teneriffe was his most glorious. Sailing into the harbour after treasure ships, despite the shore batteries, he sunk and burnt sixteen ships. But he received his death wound in the encounter, and died as his victorious ship arrived home at Plymouth.

(d) France and the Vaudois.

(cf. *Milton's Sonnet*
Avenge O Lord Thy
slaughtered Saints.)

Dunkirk.

The massacre of the Vaudois by the Savoyards called forth a sharp reprimand from Cromwell, and the French forced the Duke of Savoy to give liberty of worship. His compliance cemented the alliance and the two nations sent troops to the Spanish Netherlands where Charles II., on his expulsion from France, had found supporters amongst the Spaniards at Bruges. Thus the attack on Dunkirk had for a second object the destruction of the royalist cause. After some delay the French advanced on Dunkirk which was taken by the help of their English allies, who won the admiration of all by their gallantry and discipline.

e, Northern Alliance.

The capture of Dunkirk gave Cromwell a foothold in Europe. He then proceeded with his great idea of an alliance of the Northern Protestant powers of Europe. The union of Catholic powers seemed to Cromwell not only to threaten English commercial and maritime supremacy but European Protestantism. His idea of a coalition was never realised.

Cromwell's foreign policy was successful for a time. In the opinion of his contemporaries England's voice had never been so influential as when he taught "the British Lion to roar." He advanced commerce and saved England from foreign interference. Well might Englishmen in Charles II.'s reign look back with longing to the proud position their country had occupied in the Protector's days.

VII. Cromwell's
Domestic Policy.
(*Firth* ch. 17;
Harrison ch. 12.)

At home Cromwell's vigour was equally effective. The abuses of the Court of Chancery were swept away, and capital punishment was reserved for murderers. Local administration was made capable enough to suppress vagrants and to keep order. Education, both in schools and Universities, was fostered. There was considerable toleration: Roman Catholicism was not allowed, but the worship of the English

Church was frequently connived at. Jews and Quakers were treated tenderly, but stern measure was dealt out to blasphemers and the like.

The wars of the Protectorate were costly, and so Cromwell, who ever desired the people's co-operation, determined to summon another Parliament. Affairs were still so unsettled that again chosen men were picked as representatives, and even of these 100 were not allowed to enter the House. This purged Assembly worked well. It granted money and Cromwell withdrew the Majors-General. But it went still further. It brought forward another constitution, in the *Humble Petition and Advice*. This was a compromise between the Army and Parliamentary Government.

VIII. *Humble Petition and Advice*. (Firth 422; Gardiner 345.) a, 3rd Parliament.

b. *The Humble Petition & Advice* 1687.

The new constitution really seemed to place the Government on a satisfactory basis :

(1) Cromwell refused the title of King which was offered him (owing to the protest of the army) but was empowered to name his successor ;

(2) A second House was established, the members of which were nominated by the Protector. It was to be a barrier between Cromwell and the Commons, and " had the power to prevent tumultuary and popular spirits."

(3) Parliament had control over its own elections.

The new Parliament met in 1658. Almost at once quarrels broke out. Those members who had been shut out of the Third Parliament refused to allow that its proceedings were legal, and they would not acknowledge "*the Other House*," composed as it was of Cromwellians. The deadlock was only ended by dissolution.

c, 4th Protectorate Parliament, 1657. (Firth 419.).

Before another Parliament could be called, Cromwell had passed away on the very anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester.

IX. *D. of Cromwell* 1658.

However much men may deplore his intolerance of the Church, and his great share in Charles I.'s death, it must at least be conceded to him that as a successful soldier and an effective statesman he has few parallels in English history. Beginning his military career at the age of forty-three, he became a better leader of cavalry than Rupert, a strategic general of the first class, and the founder of an unconquerable army. As a statesman he failed, not because his aims were wrong, but because they were too much in advance of his age. He tried to force them upon a generation which was not ready for them. Yet in half a century's time his three leading aims were in a fair way of being realised : Religious toleration ; the Union of England and Scotland ; and the perception that England's true mission was a maritime one and her proper sphere was colonial. His private life has been assailed, and his religion has been called hypocrisy. To these charges his letters and speeches give the best answer. There can be no

His character.

His work.

(cf. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*.)

doubt of his honesty of purpose and his belief in his mission. It was this purpose and this belief which gave him his success.

3. DISORDER LEADING TO THE RESTORATION, 1658—1660.

i. *Continuance of the Protectorate*

a. Richard Cromwell

b. Revival of rivalry between Parliament and Army

ii. *Monk's action*

a. Restores the Long Parliament

b. Parliament receives the Declaration of Breda

c. The Convention Parliament recalls Charles II.

iii. Causes of the Restoration

i. *Continuance of the Protectorate.*

a, Richard Cromwell

b, Revival of rivalry between Parliament and Army.

With Cromwell's death came speedily the end of the Revolution. His son, Richard, was proclaimed Protector; but he possessed none of the great qualities of his father. He was merely a retiring English gentleman, entirely unfitted for the post which he was called upon to fill. The lawyers and statesmen rallied round him but the Army would have none of him. They bitterly resented the return of the civil power to a chief place, and refused to have themselves thrust into the background. The old struggle between Parliament and Army recommenced.

The new Parliament which met after the Protector's death, at once flung down the challenge by denying the right of the soldiers to appoint their own officers, and by refusing to recognize Fleetwood as the general of the Army. The Army promptly dissolved Parliament and abolished the Protectorate. The Rump was recalled. This Parliament also required the obedience of the military, and, further, declared the acts of the Protectorate illegal. A royalist rising which was easily suppressed at Winnington Bridge, gave the soldiers a good excuse for dissolving this Parliament also, though almost immediately they restored it.

The people viewed these proceedings with dismay. It was evident neither of their masters, the army or the parliament, would tolerate the other, and neither had a Cromwell to make its rule effective.

ii. *Monk's action.*

(Corbet's *Monk* ch. 10-13; Macaulay i., 72.)

a. Restores the Long Parliament.

It was General Monk who first realised the true state of affairs. He brought his army from Scotland, determined to give effect to whatever he might find to be the wish of the people. It was evident the country would not tolerate military rule. It was certain the Army would not submit to the dominion of the Rump; and a rising in London showed that the country would not submit to it either. He accordingly replaced the expelled Presbyterian members, and thus secured a majority which declared for the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and for fresh elections to a free Parliament.

No attempt was made to give effect to the laws which forbade Royalists to vote, and when the new Parliament (or Convention) met it received from Charles the *Declaration of Breda*. In this was promised (1) pardon to all except those exempted by Parliament, (2) liberty of conscience; and (3) retention of estates by their present holders. The Convention at once recalled the King. He landed in England on May 29th, 1660.

b. Declaration of Breda
(Gardiner 351.)

c. The Convention
Parlt. recalls ch. ii.

The causes of the Restoration are obvious, and by them it can be clearly seen why so great a re-action took place throughout England.

iii. Causes of the Restoration.

(1) The rule of the Puritans was by force. The tyranny of the Army was deeply resented and never forgotten.

(2) There was a real attachment to the monarchy and the Church, which had given a stable Government, political and ecclesiastical, to all classes.

(3) On the other hand Puritanism had brought a gloom over the social life of the nation, and

(4) it had persistently tried to enforce its opinions by means of the secular power. It had made the same mistake as Laud had done, and with the same result.

(5) The death of Cromwell left the Puritans without a leader.

(6) The Army which had been so long irrepressible was divided, and the nation saw in the dissensions no hope of peace.

(7) The country would not accept representative government or religious toleration when either was forced upon it from above. If they were to be permanent in character they must be the results of natural growth, not measures enforced by Government.

CHARLES II. 1660—1685.

I. THE CLARENDON CODE.

- i. *The Restoration*, May 29, 1660
 - a. Charles II.'s Character
 - b. Meaning of 'the Restoration'
 - 1. Constitutional Government
 - 2. Church of England
 - c. Periods of the Reign
- ii. Retaliation on Puritans
 - a. Causes
 - 1. Growth of Erastianism
 - 2. Natural Reaction
 - 3. Unreasonableness of Dissenters : Savoy Conference 1661
 - 4. Political danger from Dissenters : Venner's Rising 1661
 - b. Clarendon Code
 - 1. Corporation Act 1661
 - 2. Act of Uniformity 1662
 - 3. Conventicle Act 1663
 - 4. Five Mile Act 1665
 - c. Church feeling in Charles II.'s reign

i. *The Restoration*
May 29th, 1660.

(*Drake's Monk*, 191-4,
Airy 155,
Macaulay i. 74.)

a, Charles II's
Character.

(*Green* 631 ;
Macaulay i. 83-4.
Airy 5, 6, 163, 164.)

"The Restoration" apparently brought back the monarchy free and unfettered. Charles II., the eldest son of Charles I., seemed the most popular King the country had had for a long time. His progress from Dover to London was accompanied by the ringing of joy bells, the blaze of innumerable bonfires, and addresses of welcome couched in the most extravagant terms.

Charles himself little deserved his good fortune. Though not absolutely vicious he was quite devoid of principle. Genial, with much ability, and with unfailing wit and good temper, he was entirely selfish, and was indifferent to higher things. His one guiding principle was a resolve "not to go on his travels again." So long as he could enjoy his good fortune he was not particularly anxious about privileges or anything else: His marriage with Catharine of Braganza (1662) was popular and valuable, for she brought the splendid dowry of Bombay, freedom of trade with Brazil and the East Indies, and half a million sterling in money.

Charles was welcomed far less for his own sake than for the relief which the country felt that the late rule had come to an end. Everybody agreed that the government of England by a Dictator maintained by a 'godly' army had failed; and they were not particular either as to the man or the means by which relief was brought about.

But after the first excesses of welcome were spent it appeared that all that was worth preserving in the late struggle against

absolutism was safe, and we may shortly describe the Restoration as a restoration of the state of things which had been secured in the earlier days of the Long Parliament. England was to be governed by a Monarchy ruling by the help of Parliament, and with Ministers of State responsible to Parliament. The Church of England was to remain the old Church of the Nation as reformed at the Reformation.

The history of the reign falls into four sections :

- i. In the first the leading motive was excessive Royalism and a natural fear of Puritanism. It showed itself in Acts of Parliament against the Puritans.
- ii. In the second it came to be perceived that the real danger was from Romanism, whose leading champion was Louis XIV. He was engaged in a grand attempt to obtain all the influence, and much of the territory, of Europe, and he made Charles his tool.
- iii. In the third period the opposition which Louis' schemes provoked overflowed into excessive violence against Roman Catholics, and this in turn into excessive opposition to the King.
- iv. The result was that the opposition over-reached itself, and at the end of the reign Charles was able to enjoy a period of considerable power, which has indeed sometimes been termed "The Second Stuart Tyranny."

b. The meaning of 'The Restoration.'
(Green 616.)

1. Constitutional Govt.
2. Church of England

c. Periods of the Reign.
i. 1660-65.

ii. 1665-73.

iii. 1673-81.

iv. 1681-85.

The events of recent years could not but leave effects behind them, some temporary and some permanent. The restoration of the monarchy implied, in everyone's mind, the restoration of the Church. It was natural that in gratitude the Clergy should exalt the office of the Crown. Much of Charles I.'s unpopularity had been due to his support of Church tendencies which the Puritans disliked, but Charles II. was quite indifferent to all religious impulses, and this, falling in well with his natural indolence, led him to let Parliament have its own way in religious matters. The royal supremacy was accordingly exercised by Parliament, and the Church fell more and more into the position of a mere department of the State, which made its laws and appointed its officers. This is called "Erastianism." The surrender in 1664 of the right of the clergy to vote their own taxes in Convocation was not unwise in itself, but it paved the way for the gradual depriving of the Church of all powers of self-government. All sorts of evil sprang from this Erastianism.

ii. 1st Period, 1660-65.
Retaliation on Puritans.

a. Its causes:

1. Growth of Erastianism.

Moreover the late persecution of the Church by the victorious Puritans naturally gave rise to some feelings of retaliation now that the pendulum had swung the other way. At the Savoy Conference between Bishops and Puritans the latter still demanded not equality for all but ascendancy for them-

2. Natural reaction.

3. Unreasonableness of Dissenters.
Savoy Conf. 1661.

(*Wakeman's Hist.*,
303-4.)

selves. Foremost among those who opposed toleration was Richard Baxter the Independent, and at the Conference he condemned the Prayer Book *in toto* and offered a substitute of his own composition. The attempt to settle differences accordingly failed.

4. Political danger.
1661

There was also some danger from discontented Puritans and religious enthusiasts. Prominent among these were the "Fifth Monarchy men" who formed one of the many extravagant sects which had arisen during the Commonwealth. They took their name from their claim to be the saints of the Fifth Monarchy foretold by Daniel, and asserted that the time had come for them to "inherit the earth." They had often given trouble to Cromwell and now there was a rising of them again under Colonel Venner. In the fervour of reaction against all that had passed in "the late troubles" no sympathy could be shown towards anything which seemed to savour of those days, and there could be no real toleration for the Puritans till the generation had passed away which had seen how intolerant they themselves had been.

Venner's Rising.

(*Macaulay i.*, 79-80.
(*Wakeman's Hist.* 391)

The result was the passing of several acts giving to Dissenters the same sort of treatment as they had shown the Church: the four principal are called the Clarendon Code, Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, being Chancellor and leading minister at the time. He had sided with Charles I. at the time of the Grand Remonstrance, and, as a lawyer and a Churchman, could not sympathise with the extremes to which the Long Parliament afterwards went. In politics his aim was to maintain alike the Royal power and Parliamentary privilege.

b, Clarendon Code.

1661.

i. *The Corporation Act* excluded Dissenters from municipal offices, the Puritans being especially numerous in the towns.

1662.

ii. *The Act of Uniformity* ordered the Clergy to obey the Prayer Book. Many of the existing "clergy" of course were men who had not been ordained and were not Churchmen at all, but had been intruded into benefices when the lawful parish priests had been expelled in Commonwealth days. They were now given the chance of being ordained, but many of them refused. They therefore could not continue to hold the benefices they had irregularly obtained. Being forced to leave they posed as Martyrs. They had short memories and did not remember that a few years ago they had dealt with the original holders of the benefices in far harsher fashion.

1663.

iii. On their ejection they set up Dissenting Chapels as rivals to the Parish Churches, and *the Conventicle Act* tried to prevent them from doing this.

1665.

iv. A further attempt to do the same thing was made in

the *Five Mile Act* : it forbade Dissenting ministers to come within five miles of the towns.

Such attempts to enforce uniformity of religion were doomed to failure. The whole body of Englishmen would no longer agree in one form of religion. Puritanism had failed in securing general acceptance, and the Church similarly failed now. Henceforth Dissent must exist side by side with the Church, but it was long before this was realised and embodied in Acts of Parliament.

Meanwhile the harassing of the Puritans lost much of its motive and force as the nation began to see that its real political danger was not Puritanism at home but Romanism abroad.

The trial through which the Church had passed left her with a stronger hold on Catholic principles. This is shown in two ways. (a) The value of the Book of Common Prayer was realised. (b) The necessity of the order of Bishops was recognised by all Churchmen : it no longer could be an open question. The attempt to enforce the system of the Prayer Book, often it is true by mistaken methods, had cost an Archbishop his life ; and a king had gone to his death rather than consent to the abolition of Bishops. Consecrated in these ways, men began to understand for the first time what the Prayer Book really meant. The result was a strong and vigorous revival. The mischief wrought in Church buildings by Puritan fanatics was made good. Dignified worship reappeared. While the King's court was profligate and literature was vile, in the country there were many who had a high standard of spiritual life. The Church's system of daily services, frequent communions, confession and absolution, was followed by many naturally and regularly. The Church's round of fasts and festivals was duly observed. Nor was the intellectual side neglected : the divines of the day became almost proverbial for their learning.

But side by side with this we must remember there were many who had grown up with no real knowledge of the Church's system at all. They knew the Puritan teaching alone, for during something like 20 years the Church had been forbidden. Such of these as now accepted the Church from motives of expediency or indifference could not fail to be a source of weakness to her. This proved to be the case only too sadly. There were traitors within the camp as well as enemies outside. For the present both had to remain quiet, but the course of politics gave strength to each.

2. THE PROTESTANT RE-ACTION.

d. The Convention Parliament

1. Violence of Royalists : Act of Indemnity, with many exceptions
2. Dissatisfaction of Royalists about transfers of land

e, Church feeling in Charles II.
(*Wakeman's Hist.* 403.)

3. Royal Revenue
4. Standing Army
- e. The Cavalier Parliament 1661—79
 1. The Clarendon Code
 2. Assertion of Royal Powers
 3. Misfortunes cause discontent—Plague (1665) and Fire (1666) of London
 4. Mismanagement of 1st Dutch War 1665—67
 - Peace of Breda 1667
 - Triple Alliance 1668
 - Constitutional results of Dutch War
 5. Fall of Clarendon 1667
 - a. Causes
 - b. His work
 6. Fear of Louis XIV. : 1st Secret Treaty of Dover 1670
 7. The Cabal
 8. 2nd Dutch War 1672—74 : Peace of Westminster 1674
 9. Declaration of Indulgence 1672
 10. Test Act 1673—Its effects on religion
 11. Danby's Ministry 1673—79
 - The Dutch marriage 1677
 - 2nd Treaty of Dover 1678
 - Fall of Danby 1679. Constitutional importance
- iii. *Fear of France and the Roman Catholics*
 - a. The Popish Plot 1679
 - b. Shaftesbury
 - c. Temple's Scheme
 - d. Shaftesbury's anti-royalist politics
 1. Habeas Corpus Act 1679
 2. Exclusion Bill 1679—81.
 - e. Whigs and Tories
- iv. *Royalist Reaction*
 - a. Shaftesbury's Fall
 - b. Rye House Plot 1683
 - c. Re-modelling of Corporations
 - d. Popular Approval

d. The Convention Parliament.

1. Violence of Royalists.

Act of Indemnity 1660, with many exceptions.

2. Dissatisfaction of Royalists about transfers of land.

After the Restoration the question of forgiveness for the past at once came up. In the Declaration of Breda Charles had promised a general pardon "excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament." He himself was quite willing for by-gones to be by-gones, but Parliament in its early fervour of loyalty was more royalist than the King. The first Parliament, not being called by a King, was named a "Convention." It passed an *Act of Indemnity* by which 13 of the most prominent Regicides were beheaded and 19 imprisoned for life. Two years later Sir Harry Vane was added to the former list and Lambert to the latter. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw and Pride were dug up and hanged at Tyburn, and those of Blake and Pym were expelled from Westminster Abbey.

A *Bill of Sales*, to settle the legality of transfers of land during the late confusion proved too difficult a matter, and cases were left to be decided in the Law Courts. Generally speaking sales effected by the late Government were disallowed

as the Government itself was held to have been illegal, but private sales were to stand good.

A handsome royal revenue was fixed, on the condition that Feudal Tenures were abolished. Monk's army was disbanded, except three regiments, which fear of Puritan risings (that of Colonel Venner has been mentioned) caused to be retained. This was the beginning of the later standing army, and, small as it was, it caused much fear among those who remembered how Cromwell's absolutism had been founded on his Round-heads.

A year after the Restoration, the regular Parliament met. It was found that few except supporters of the Restoration had secured election, and it was consequently called the "Cavalier Parliament." We have already seen what it did in Church matters, and in politics it began by declaring the King's right to a share in legislation and to the control of the Militia.

But as the years went by and it still retained power (till 1679), so that it obtained the name of the "Second Long Parliament," its excessive loyalty cooled. Then it needed such careful management (by Danby) that it earned also the third name of the "Pension Parliament." It was finally dissolved for persisting in the impeachment of a minister who was far more directly the instrument of the King than Strafford ever was.

Some five years after the Restoration a series of misfortunes set in. The Great Plague in 1665 devastated in particular the Capital, though it ravaged elsewhere. In 1666 came the great Fire which destroyed four-fifths of London.

At the same time war broke out with Holland. Commercial jealousy was the chief cause, for the Dutch were our great rivals in Africa and America, and in 1660 the Navigation Act, confining English trade to English ships, had been revived against them. But many in England had a grudge against the free Republic which had sheltered many royalist refugees in Commonwealth days. Louis XIV. helped the Dutch at first, hoping they would cripple England, of course to his advantage, and English affairs were so badly managed that they gained several successes, even sailing up the Thames. But Louis took advantage of their difficulties to attack their frontier (in what is called the War of Devolution) in his design of extending the territories of France, so that both sides were glad to make peace. This was done in the Treaty of Breda, by which we gained New Amsterdam, and re-named it New York. Sir William Temple indeed saw that England's true policy was opposition to France, and he concluded the Triple Alliance with the Swedes and the Dutch, which had this end in view.

The War enabled Parliament to make several advances in power :

3. Royal Revenue.

4. Standing Army 1661.

b. The "Cavalier Parliament," 1661-79.

1. The Clarendon Code.

2. Assertion of Royal powers.

3. Misfortunes cause discontent. Plague of London. (cf. *Deſoe's Journal of the Plague*, Fire of London.

4. Mismanagement of 1st Dutch War, 1665-7. (*Green* 628, *Ascendancy of France* 229)

(*Ascendancy of France* 209, 231.)

Peace of Breda, 1667.

Triple Alliance 1668.

Constitutional results of the Dutch War.

(1) The Commons in voting supplies appropriated them definitely to their object instead of granting them in general terms; and appointed Commissioners to see that they were spent for their proper purpose;

(2) Parliament took a considerably larger part in the management of the war than it had ever hitherto done:

5. Fall of Clarendon
1667.

a, Its causes.

(3) It insisted on the dismissal of Clarendon on the plea that the failures of the war was due to him. Dissenters disliked him for his "Code"; Royalists thought he had not shown them sufficient favour in the re-settlement of lands and estates. The dissolute crew who hung about the Court were offended at the purity of his private life and his high standard of public honour; and Charles was ready enough to make his best minister a scapegoat. He was impeached, and withdrew to France to avoid banishment.

b, His work.

(*Airy* 224.)

He had played a great part in politics but his ideas were old fashioned. He had managed the Restoration in the idea that the settlement of 1641, after Strafford's impeachment, was to be permanent: that the parliament and the King were to exist side-by-side with equal powers. But stable equilibrium in politics cannot be secured by the method of having two co-equal forces, each balancing, supporting, and checking the other. One or other must be supreme. The civil war had decided the Monarchy was not to be supreme; and the struggles of the reigns of Charles II. and James II. are explained by the failure of men like Clarendon to perceive this. He had done his work in an antiquated cause, and even if Parliament had not attacked him or Charles betrayed him he could not long have remained in power. Every day made the instability of his settlement more evident. But though his constitutional work was transitory his literary work has permanent value. He devoted his exile to writing his *History of the Great Rebellion*.

6. Fear of French.

(*Green* 634, 638.
Ascendancy of
France 205, 210,
233, etc.
Macaulay i., 97-8.)
1st Secret T. of
Dover, 1670.

Louis, who was becoming more and more the champion of Roman Catholicism in Europe, had thrown his influence into the scale against the powerful and patriotic minister, and, looking as ever solely to his own interests, won Charles to his side by making with him a *Secret Treaty at Dover*. By this it was promised that

1. Charles was to help the French against the Dutch.

2. Toleration was to be given to Papists in England,

3. Charles was himself to become a Roman Catholic;

in return (4) Louis agreed to pay Charles an annual sum of money, nominally as payment for English troops sent to help the French.

7. The Cabal.

On Clarendon's fall the chief power came into the hands of a section of the Privy Council composed of five men whose names were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale.

This practice of allowing the powers which belonged to the

whole Council to be exercised by a few, was of course more convenient than calling together the whole body. But it was never liked, and offensive names like *junto* and *cabal* were given to these 'committees.' This particular committee is known to history pre-eminently as 'The Cabal,' (the initials of its members happened to form the word), and as it was not very honourable in its dealings the name obtained a significance which it did not in its origin possess. In its practice of mutual support the Cabal contained the germ of the modern cabinet.

The Treaty of Dover was known to the Cabal with the exception of the 3rd Article. As it became generally known much opposition feeling was aroused. This was strengthened as Article 3 gradually leaked out, and the nation began to realise that the real political danger was from Romanism, not from Puritanism.

The immediate effect of the Treaty was that Charles declared war against the Dutch, to aid Louis in his designs on Holland. We attacked the Smyrna Fleet carrying rich spices, but failed. The English fleet was nearly defeated by De Ruyter in Southwold Bay, and decisively beaten off the Texel. We had therefore to make Peace in the *Treaty of Westminster*.

Meanwhile William, the Prince of Orange, had rallied the Dutch in defence of their country, and, adopting the desperate plan of opening the flood gates, had made the land impassable for the French troops. He vowed that sooner than yield he would die in the last ditch. To the end of his life he was Louis' relentless foe.

The inglorious end of the Dutch War, coupled with the feeling that it had been only undertaken for Louis' good, added to the religious resentment which was everywhere growing.

Charles, in accordance with his undertaking in the Treaty of Dover, had issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending the laws against all Dissenters, both Roman Catholic and Puritan. He hoped that by including the latter he would be able to buy their silence. But everyone clearly saw that the real object was to favour the former, and in revenge Parliament, under the influence of the Earl of Shaftesbury (Ashley), passed the Test Act, to prevent Roman Catholics and other Dissenters from holding office. The "Test" was the receiving of the Holy Communion in the English Church, as a sign of Churchmanship. Of course no honest man who dissented from the English Church would receive it, and the Roman Catholics were shut out from office for many years. But the moral effects were wholly disastrous. It kept out honest men but admitted hypocrites, for many were found willing to 'conform' for the sake of office. Accordingly it dulled the religious instinct of the nation, and lowered the whole conception of the Sacraments.

(Macaulay i., 104.
Essay on Temple
438.)

8. 2nd Dutch War
1672-4.

P. of Westminster,
1674.

(Green 640; Ascend-
ancy of France 216)

9. Decl. of Indul-
gence, 1672.

10. Test Act, 1673.

Its effects on religion
(Lecky's xviii. Cent.
i., 317-21; Wake-
man's Hist. 393-4.)

The Declaration of Indulgence had to be recalled in 1673.

The loyalty of the Cavalier Parliament had been severely tried by Charles's dealings with France, and in fact it had by this time pretty nearly evaporated. The Cabal too had gone the way of many political committees and had broken up in mutual quarrels. Ashley's share in the Test Act has already been mentioned: he was in consequence deprived of the Chancellorship, and went into bitter opposition.

The minister who now came to the front was the Earl of Danby. He secured the support of Parliament by unblushing bribery, and his aim was to counteract Louis' influence. He struck a severe blow at it by arranging a marriage between the Princess Mary and William of Orange, Louis' chief enemy. Louis at once, and without scruple, ruined Danby by revealing a *Second Secret Treaty of Dover*, in which England had promised to recall her troops serving under the Dutch flag, in return for a large sum of money to be paid to Charles. Louis' object in thus bribing Charles was to make him independent of Parliament which might have forced him into an alliance against France. The hand that signed the Treaty had been Danby's, it is true, but the voice that dictated it was Charles's. Danby was impeached, and when he pleaded that he had acted by direct order of the King—he had indeed thought to safeguard himself by making Charles endorse the Treaty "this letter is writ by my order, C.R."—it was over-ruled. He then pleaded that, in any case, he had received the royal pardon. This too was disallowed, and thus it was finally settled that ministers of state are responsible to Parliament. This was definitely laid down in the Act of Settlement 1701.

11. Danby's ministry
1673-9.
(Green 646-8;
Macaulay I., 110.)
The Dutch Marriage
1977.

2nd T. of Dover,
1678.

Fall of Danby, 1679.

Constitutional im-
portance of Danby's
impeachment.

III. Fear of France
and Roman
Catholics.

a, 'The Popish Plot'
1678-9

(Green 649-51;
Macaulay I., 114-7).

The revelations of these underhand dealings with Louis increased the general feeling of mistrust which the Cabal and the Declaration of Indulgence had done so much to rouse. The King's brother, James, the heir to the throne, just now avowed himself a Roman Catholic. Public excitement grew, It seemed as though French soldiers might now do what the Spanish Armada had once intended to do, namely, force Roman Catholics into power. The Roman Catholics undoubtedly hoped much. Their opponents feared more. A scoundrel Puritan minister of infamous character, named Titus Oates, took advantage of the highly-strung state of public feeling. He raised the 'No Popery' cry, with as much violence and effect as has often been done since. Nothing was too bad to lay to the doors of the Papists, and the highway murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate to whom Oates had told a ridiculous story of a 'Popish Plot' to murder all the Protestants in the country, came conveniently to bolster up the tale. Of course he had been done to death by the wicked Papists! Unscrupulous politicians fanned the flame for

political purposes. A panic, which would have been ludicrous but that its effects on the Romanists were tragic, spread throughout the country, and a shrewd joiner made a fortune by inventing "the Protestant Flail" to be carried as a defence against the enemies who were at everybody's doors. Even in the law courts justice to a Roman Catholic was not to be thought of, and large numbers of innocent victims were put to death by ignorant and excited juries and unscrupulous judges. Oates himself was rewarded with privileges and pensions.

Shaftesbury, like many another politician since, was not slow to turn the 'Popish Plot' to good account. His character was well described by Dryden in the person of Achitophel, the cunning Hebrew politician who won a short spell of triumph by similarly unscrupulous means.

*For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit,
Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace.*

b, Shaftesbury.
his character.
(Green 642-3.)

He was indeed a restless agitator and an unscrupulous demagogue, never happy except in opposition. He had been a supporter of Charles I. He was then equally strong in support of Cromwell. He had afterwards done much to bring about the Restoration. Again he changed sides and opposed Clarendon, to succeed him in office as a member of the 'Cabal,' and to obtain his earldom by agreeing to the Declaration of Indulgence. If he can be said to have had any good principles they were those of parliamentary government and religious toleration; but even these were marred by his inability to act honestly and openly, and by the fatal taint of selfishness which ruined a life which brilliant talents might have made successful.

The "Cavalier Parliament" had been dissolved in 1679 after it had impeached Danby, and three succeeding Parliaments only sat for a few months in all during the next few years. Danby's fall opened the way to an interesting experiment in constitutional government. The Cabal system of a Committee not responsible to Parliament was obviously dangerous, and in 1679 Sir William Temple's scheme was tried. He suggested a small Council of Thirty, consisting equally of Officers of State—responsible, by Danby's Impeachment, to Parliament—and others appointed only by the King. It was intended to be both an executive body and a restraining influence on the royal power. But it failed through being too large for frequent consultation. In any case it is not likely that it would have solved the problem of the relations between King and Parliament. The only body which could do that was one which depended on the power which was supreme, and

1679-81.

c, Temple's scheme.
(Macaulay i., 118;
Essay on Temple,
445-7, 450-4.
Green 652-4.)

as that came gradually to be the Parliament, the Cabinet arose, not acting independently of Parliament but in obedience to it.

d, Shaftesbury's
anti-royalist poli-
tics.

In the hope of keeping Shaftesbury quiet he was included in Temple's Council. But this merely helped to break down the scheme, while adding to his power. Taking advantage of the popular feeling against the King and the Roman Catholics he introduced two important measures :

1. Habeas Corpus
Act. 1679.

(a) *The Habeas Corpus Act*, to secure speedy trials by ordering severe penalties for delay. This was a just measure of reform and it was carried, though an amusing story is related that it only passed the Lords because the tellers, in joke, counted one very fat member as ten !

2. Exclusion Bill,
1679-81.
(Green 654-9.)

(b) Shaftesbury's other measure was the *Exclusion Bill*, to shut out James from the throne, on the plea of his being a Roman Catholic. This was revolutionary, as it was introducing a new condition into those on which the King occupied the throne. Consequently Shaftesbury was on less secure ground than in the former measure. Moreover the King kept strictly within proper limits in opposing it ; and he offered such large concessions that it was evident Shaftesbury was only pressing it from spite. For instance Charles offered that his brother should exercise no royal powers, and even that he should not live in the kingdom. It caused much Protestant excitement, and numberless Petitions were sent in from those who supported it, hence called 'Petitioners' and afterwards 'Whigs.' These were answered by others from those who 'abhorred' it, and were hence called 'Abhorrrers' and afterwards 'Tories.'

e, Whigs and
Tories.
(Macaulay I., 126.)

Public opinion gradually turned round to Charles's side as the manifest injustice and spite of the Bill became more and more evident. As party feeling increased the country became afraid that even another Civil War might break out, and the memory of the last was too fresh in men's minds for them to tolerate the idea. The opposition had gone too far. As Parliament after Parliament (four in all) insisted on the Bill, only to be quickly dissolved one after the other, the institution of Parliament itself became weakened. Thus Charles presently found himself able to do without Parliament altogether, although the Triennial Act of 1641 had been renewed in 1664. The Exclusion Bill failed, and Charles II. was supreme for the last four years of his reign.

1681-85.

IV. Royalist Re-
action.
a, Shaftesbury's fall

Charles proceeded to take on his adversaries a not unnatural revenge. Shaftesbury, the arch-agitator, was accused of treasonable conspiracy and died in exile and disgrace. There was no doubt he had encouraged the idea of rebellion, and some of his tools plotted to waylay the King at the Rye House on his return from Newmarket. It was discovered and Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, who were concerned in

b, Rye House Plot,
1683.

it, were executed. The towns being, generally speaking, the strongholds of the opposition, were then called upon to have their Charters of Incorporation re-modelled. This was done in such a way that, it was hoped, power would be confined to the royalists. c. Re-modelling of Corporations.

Although the Church of England, falling in with the general sentiment, went great lengths in magnifying the theory of the royal power and in emphasising the theory of "non-resistance" as due to the King under any circumstances, Charles was shrewd enough to see that he could not presume too far upon her loyalty. He made no further attempts to favour Roman Catholics. Indeed "those sweeping enunciations of principles about non-resistance and the Divine Right of Kings, which astonish a later age" are little more than characteristic expressions of the political thought of those days. They were naturally coloured by the enthusiasm which the Restoration produced. But they really meant little more than a determination to withstand revolutionary opinions. It was soon to be seen that the ultra-royalist Church of England was a very real champion of popular liberty. (Letchy i., 77-80.)
d, Popular approval.

In the midst of his triumph Charles was struck with paralysis and died after a few days' illness. On his death-bed his good humour remained to the last, and he apologised for being "such an unconscionable time in dying." Professing himself a Roman Catholic he died on Feb. 2nd, 1685. (Green 664;
Macaulay i., 209-14.)

JAMES II. 1685—1688.

- i. *James II.'s Strength*
 - a. His hereditary title
 - b. His Character
 - c. Charles II.'s Constitutional victory
 - d. His own promises
- ii. *Overthrow of Opposition*
 - a. Argyll in Scotland
 - b. Monmouth in England : Battle of Sedgemoor 1685
- iii. *Attempt at Absolutism*
 - a. Its prospects of Success
 - b. Causes of failure
 - c. Events
 1. Attack on Test Act : Godden v. Hales 1685
 2. Attack on Clergy
 3. Attack on Universities
 4. Declaration of Indulgence : The Seven Bishops
 5. Birth of an heir
 6. Prince of Orange summoned.

I. James II.'s strength.

- a. his hereditary title
- b. his character.
(*Wakeman's Hist.*, 395; *Ascendancy of France*, 261.)
- c. Charles II.'s Constitutional Victory

d. his own promises

The quietness with which James II. succeeded his brother shows how entirely the Exclusion Bill had misrepresented the real feeling of the country. Public opinion desired to preserve hereditary monarchy if it were possible to do so. James's personal character was much better than his brother's. He was a good administrator, and had shown skill and energy in the Navy. Again, Charles's campaign against the Corporation of London had weakened the Puritans, and his defeat and the Parliament encouraged James to hope that he might become an absolute king.

He began by making a good impression. He promised to rule constitutionally and to maintain the English Church and he again allowed Parliament to meet. It repaid him with loyal generosity, granting him a large revenue for life, and passing an Act making it treason to attempt to change the succession.

II. Overthrow of Opposition.

- (a) In Scotland.
- (b) Monmouth in England.
(*Macaulay i.*, 123, 280, 305.)
- Battle of Sedgemoor 1685.

The little opposition which arose was easily defeated. Argyll in Scotland attempted a rising but was speedily captured and executed. The English rising was not much more serious. Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., tried to pose as the champion of Protestantism. He raised a rebellion in the west. He was quickly defeated at Sedgemoor and, being afterwards captured, was executed. The battle was the last fought on English soil. The royal troops, under Churchill, were encamped behind one of the wide ditches which drain Sedgemoor. Monmouth attempted a night attack, but missed his way and could not cross the ditch. The army, being

aroused, fired across it at the ill-armed rebels, and cavalry, riding round, fell on their right. The result was a massacre and a rout. In the battle and the later movements the royal troops, particularly one regiment, known from the cruel commander as "Kirke's Lambs," behaved with great brutality. The infamous Judge Jeffreys followed with a "Bloody Assize" in which judicial punishment, equally brutal, was served out to all who could be shown to have sympathised with Monmouth.

(Green 666; Macaulay i., 309-18.)

The success of these early months of the reign perhaps accounts for James's later conduct. Throwing aside his moderation he began a definite attempt to establish Roman Catholicism and to make himself absolute. He was not without some prospect of success. To what has been said above as to his sources of strength may be added his genuine religious convictions, his control over the Judges (who would be sure to strain the laws to their utmost in favour of the King) and, lastly, the example and support of Louis.

III. Attempt at Absolutism.

a. Its prospects of success.

But, like many others who have changed their religion, James's zeal outran his discretion. His anxiety to induce others to do as he had done, blinded him alike to the convictions of Churchpeople,—in spite of their theory of 'Non-resistance'—and the violent prejudices of Puritans. The patriotic dislike of a religion which looks to a foreign religious head at Rome was added to alarm for national independence, for it seemed that if the Roman Catholics obtained power they would be sure to harness England to the chariot wheels of Louis XIV. James's religious policy ruined him, and finally brought home to the nation the conviction that the settlement of 1641, which had been accepted at the Restoration, was insufficient. The inevitable struggle between King and parliament which had been renewed in 1660 was ended by James II.'s violence, and parliament became supreme.

b. Causes of failure.

(Lecky i., 12.)

(1) He began by claiming a *Dispensing Power* to excuse people from complying with the Test Act. The excuse was that he desired toleration. In a case (Hales' case) which was brought to test the legality of this claim, James, having removed four of the judges whom he knew to be opposed to him, obtained a decision in his favour. The judges said that as the laws were put forth in the King's name, the King could dispense with them in particular cases. As a result many Roman Catholics were placed in civil and military offices.

c. Events.

1. Attack on Test Act
Godden v. Hales,
1686.

(2) The High Commission was next revived to crush the opposition of the Clergy.

2. Attack on Clergy.

(3) Then the Universities were attacked. They had taught the duty of non-resistance, but now refused to obey the King's commands to place Roman Catholics in various high offices. Royal candidates were accordingly promoted by royal authority.

3. Attack on Universities.
(Macaulay i., 370,
462-77.)

4. Decl. of Indulgence.

The Seven Bishops.

(Green 671-2; Wakeman's Hist., 399; Macaulay 1., 499-520.)

(Wakeman's Hist. 399.)

5. Birth of an heir.

(Green 678-9.)

(G. & M. 161.)

6. Pr. of Orange summoned.

(Green 681-3.)
(Macaulay 1. 598-623)

(4) He next issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* granting liberty of worship to all Dissenters both Romanist and Puritan. He hoped that it would win the approval of the latter and so benefit the former. This was ordered to be read in all churches. Most of the clergy refused and seven of the bishops presented to the King a Protest, strongly but respectfully worded, against his action. He thought he had them in his power and could now crush the opposition of his strongest opponent, the Church. The bishops were prosecuted on the charge of seditious libel. Amid intense excitement, for the country recognised what great issues hung on the result, they were brought to trial. Fortunately the verdict depended on a jury, and not on royally-appointed judges, and it was one of 'not guilty.' Shouts of joy, even from the royal troops, greeted the result, and the Seven Bishops were the heroes of the nation. This was really the death-blow to James's attempt at absolutism. The attack on the independence of the Church brought home to the people, as nothing else did, James's resolve to trample the laws of England under foot. That a continuance of his rule was dangerous to the liberties of the country was evident to all.

But the long-suffering of the nation was great. Everybody felt that, bad as James was, his government could not last long. He was not young, and he had no sons. The heir to the throne was his daughter Mary, and her husband William of Orange was the head of the continental opposition to Louis and a thorough Protestant. A few years at most would bring relief.

These hopes were dashed to the ground by the announcement of the birth of a son to James, who would, naturally, carry on his father's policy. No wonder that many believed that as James had enforced sham laws so he had procured a sham heir to the throne. No wonder that men of all parties abandoned hopes of a natural settlement and united in a request to the Prince of Orange to come and save the liberties of England.

When William landed everyone joined him. Even the army, under its leader Churchill, deserted to him. James's own daughter Anne went over to William. Recognising his helplessness James himself took ship for France.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

i. *The Revolution*

The Convention 1689

1. Its Resolutions

2. Declaration of Right

ii. *Significance of the Revolution*iii. *Reasons for its peaceful nature*iv. *Its Results*

William was careful to proceed by strictly constitutional methods. He was at great pains on the one hand to make it as easy as possible for James's adherents to transfer their allegiance, and on the other hand not to wound the feelings of Englishmen.

He knew they valued legal forms and the power of Parliament. Not being actually King he could not legally summon a Parliament. The assembly which was elected was accordingly called a Convention. Its business was of course to decide how the government of England should be carried on. To avoid offending the strong supporters of Non-Resistance and Divine Right it did not definitely say that James was no longer King. Carefully refraining from all such expressions it decided :

1. That James had violated the contract between King and People, and had broken fundamental laws ;
- 2 that he had abdicated, and the throne was therefore vacant ;
- 3 that it had been proved to be dangerous to have a Roman Catholic as King.

It then issued a Declaration of Right, declaring that it is

i. *Illegal for the King*

- (a) to levy taxes without consent of Parliament.
- (b) to exercise the Dispensing Power.
- (c) to have a standing army in time of peace.

ii. *Legal for Subjects*

- (a) to petition the sovereign.
- (b) to elect Members of Parliament freely, and to have freedom of debate in Parliament.
- (c) to have fair trial.

William and Mary were then made joint Sovereigns, but the administration was placed solely in the hands of the former.

This was a genuine Revolution. (a) The person of the Sovereign was changed ; (b) his position also was changed : he was definitely made subject to Parliament. The arrangement of 1641 which had been accepted in 1660 as sufficient was now abandoned as inadequate. True, there was still to be a King, with considerable powers, but the old controversy as

i. Revolution.

(Macaulay i. 625-31).

a. The Convention, 1689.

1. Its Resolutions.
(Macaulay i. 636).2. Declaration of Right.
(Macaulay i. 649).ii. Significance of the Revolution.
(G. & M. 163, 167).

to the ultimate supreme power was now settled in favour of Parliament. In the last resort the royal authority must give way to that of Parliament. William himself occupied the throne by vote of Parliament. England became practically a Republic.

III. Reasons for its peaceful nature.

That so great a change was brought about without bloodshed was due to a variety of causes. (a) The remembrance of the last Civil War was too strong for anyone to care to risk another, while (b) the long existence of parliamentary government provided the means for carrying through a peaceful Revolution without difficulty. Moreover (c) James had disgusted all parties in the country, and (d) by his flight he had deprived of a rallying point any who might have wished to rise in his favour.

(Macaulay i, 652).

iv. Its results.

a. Immediate.

1. "Jacobites."

Of course there remained a considerable number of people who set more store on the Stuart cause than on its representatives, though they could only champion it through supporting the latter. They were called 'Jacobites.' They preserved a romantic loyalty to the House of Stuart for many years, and though they were often able to embarrass the English government they were never a serious danger.

2. Toleration.

3. Increase of Parliamentary Power.

4. Revenue improved

5. Wars with France

6. Standing Army.

b. Ultimate.

1. Continental.

2. Colonial.

(Seeley's *Expansion of England*).

3. Political.

i. Party Govt.

ii. Cabinet.

As the history progresses it will be seen that other results flowed from the Revolution. Religious Toleration gained in strength. Parliament gained immensely both in prestige and in power. The Revenue was improved. England became leader of the struggle against France and this involved her in long and costly wars: these gradually brought home to the nation the need of maintaining a Standing Army.

Ultimately these wars gave England a pre-eminence among the states of Europe which she seldom had held before. They also gave her Colonial dominions of which the early settlers in Elizabeth's day had never dreamt.

We may, besides, trace back to influences which began at the Revolution, the origin of those two features which are almost distinctive of English politics, namely, 'Party Government' and the Cabinet.

WILLIAM III. (1688—1702) and MARY II. (died 1694).

I.—ENGLISH AFFAIRS.

- i. *Beginning of the reign*
 - a. The 1st Parliament (Whig)
 - b. William's Character and difficulties
 - c. Mutiny Act 1689 : its constitutional importance
- ii. *Religious Settlement*
 - a. Toleration Act 1689
 - b. Oath of Allegiance : Non-jurors
 - c. Decline of Churchmanship
 - d. Silencing of Convocation
- iii. *Political Settlement*
 1. Bill of Rights
 2. Revenge on Tories
- iv. *2nd Parliament* (Tory)
 1. Revenue 1690
 2. Bank of England founded 1694
 3. Recoinage 1696
 4. The Junto
 5. The Triennial Act 1694
- v. *3rd Parliament* (Whig)
 1. Treason Act 1696
 2. Plots : Berwick's Plot, Assassination Plot 1696, Fenwick's Case 1697,
The "Loyal Association"
 3. Peace of Ryswick 1697
- vi. *4th Parliament* (Tory)
 1. Reduction of the Army 1699
 2. Resumption Bill 1700
- vii. *5th Parliament*
 1. Act of Settlement (or Succession) 1701
 2. Impeachment of Somers, etc.
 3. Anti-Jacobite Re-action 1701
 - a. Kentish Petitioners
 - b. Grand Alliance
 - c. Death of James II. and Louis XIV.'s repudiation of Treaty of Ryswick

The Convention having declared William and Mary King and Queen, William now declared it to be a Parliament. As it had been elected in due form this was correct enough in fact, though of course according to the letter of the law it was absurd.

William soon found that his new dignity was not a bed of roses. Personally he had few graces. He was physically weak and was cold and retiring. He laboured too under the disadvantage of not being acquainted with the English constitution or English politics. He could not appreciate the strife of English parties any more than the country at large.

i. *Beginning of the Reign.*

a. *The First Parliament.*

(Macaulay i. 680 ;
Asc. of France,
246-8).

b. *William's character and difficulties*

could appreciate his continental policy. Moreover neither party was enthusiastic over him. He had been grudgingly accepted by the Clergy and the Tories, who made a virtue of necessity, while the Whigs valued him merely as a party leader. He for his part only cared for the English throne on account of the assistance it gave him in his struggle with France. It is not surprising therefore that he was never popular; and his unpopularity was increased by his natural tendency to give his real confidence to his fellow-countrymen such as Bentinck, who became Earl of Portland.

The army was especially jealous of his Dutch Guards, and a Mutiny occurred almost immediately. It was easily put down, but it led to the passing of the Mutiny Act. This authorised the holding of Courts Martial. As no one yet liked to think of the Army as a permanent institution the Act was passed for six months only, but it had to be renewed again and again as the need for a Standing Army remained. In fact the Mutiny Act has been ever since renewed annually for a year at a time. The earlier reason for this limitation passed away, but the Act became a useful method for making sure that Parliament should meet every year.

c, Mutiny Act, 1689.
(Macaulay i. 656-8).

Its constitutional
importance.

II. Religious
Settlement.
(Macaulay i. 659).

At the beginning of the reign, the Whigs, as the party which had carried through the Revolution, were strong. They used their strength in much the same way as the victorious Royalists did at the Restoration.

It was necessary to reward the Dissenters, who had so strongly supported William and the Revolution. There was now no danger of disloyalty on their part, so the religious question could be decided, not in accordance with politics but with common sense. It was plain that there must be Dissenters, so a Toleration Act was passed, giving them freedom of worship. How little there was of the genuine spirit of toleration is shown by the fact that Roman Catholics, Quakers, and Unitarians, being unpopular and few in numbers, were excepted. The old restrictions on printing remained, but as time went on they became more and more difficult to enforce, and it was this difficulty that led, in 1695, to their being dropped.

a, Toleration Act,
1689.

(Wakeman's, Hist.,
390, 401; Macaulay
i. 695.)

b, Oath of Allegiance

An Oath of Allegiance to the new Sovereigns was imposed and generally accepted. But a considerable number of the better clergy felt that, having sworn allegiance to James, they could not eat their words at the vote of Parliament. Consequently they declined to take the Oath and are called the Non-jurors. It would have been wiser to have left the question open. That they had no idea of real disloyalty is shown by the fact that they included the very bishops who had refused to read James II.'s Declaration of Indulgence. They were expelled from their positions, and as they were, generally

"Non-jurors."

speaking, the best and most conscientious men among the clergy, the effect on the Church was a distinct weakening of spiritual power and definiteness. (Wakeman's Hist., 412-14; Hutton's Hist. 234-45).

There was indeed a great growth of laxity both in regard to Church principles and Church practices. Of course the influence of William, who had been brought up a Protestant, was altogether against anything like definite Churchmanship. The men he and the Whigs favoured and promoted were such as would fall in with their ideas. They looked upon the Church as practically a department of State, and bishops were appointed far less out of regard to their spiritual fitness than to their political opinions and usefulness. The results were disastrous. Party politics were introduced into the affairs of the Church, and her spiritual aspect fell into the background. The rank and file of the clergy, being Tories, found themselves out of sympathy with their Whig bishops, and this showed itself in frequent differences of opinion between the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation. These became so bitter that Convocation was absolutely silenced for eleven years, and was never again able to deal effectively with the many problems which the growth of the population and national development made pressing. It was in this way, and not by the growth of Toleration, that the power and influence of the Church was injured.

c. Decline of Churchmanship.

(Wakeman's Hist., 408-10).

d. Silencing of Convocation.

On their political opponents also the Whigs tried to take revenge. The Declaration of Right was made into a Statute called the *Bill of Rights*, and an additional section was inserted declaring that a Roman Catholic was incapable of becoming King or Queen of England. The Whigs tried to add clauses directed against the Tories by punishing all who had been concerned in the late re-modelling of the Corporations and many who had not actively helped the Revolution; but such bitter feelings were aroused that William had the good sense to dissolve the Parliament.

III. Political Settlement.

1. Bill of Rights.

2. Revenge on Tories.

1690.

The next House of Commons was distinctly Tory in sentiment and William did not hesitate to try to influence it by bribery. It refused to give him a Revenue for life, voting it for a year only, and Commissioners were appointed to audit and control it. Another important financial measure was the foundation of the Bank of England. William's continental wars made necessary very large supplies, and much money had to be obtained by loans. This was really how the National Debt began. In these operations Charles Montague was the guiding spirit. In order to give security to lenders, the subscribers to a large Government loan in 1694 were, by the advice of a Scotsman named Paterson, formed into a Company called 'The Bank of England' which received considerable privileges. It was soon found that this measure had much

IV. Second Parliament (Tory)

1. Revenue, 1690.

2. Bank of England 1694.

strengthened the Whigs for it bound the moneyed classes to maintain the Revolution : they could never consent to the bringing back of the Stuarts for fear of their repudiating the debts of William III. Another excellent financial measure a few years later was the improvement of the coinage, by making it of better metal and with milled edges to prevent clipping. Sir Isaac Newton was the director of this great operation.

3. Recoinage 1696.

4. The "Junto."
(*Macaulay* l. 686).

William had tried to employ ministers from both parties, but the result was inevitable quarrelling. He found that in practice he had to depend on Whigs. By 1697 all Tory ministers had been removed and all the offices of state were filled by Whigs. Of course these were the continual object of attack from the Tory House of Commons and that naturally made them cling closely together. Thus they somewhat resembled the modern Cabinet. They were called in scorn 'the Junto'; they comprised Somers, Russell, Montague and Wharton. There could not be real harmony between Ministers and Parliament till the former were avowedly chosen from the party in power. As yet Parliament only supported the Ministers when it happened to approve of them or when its members were effectually bribed by them. Wharton was especially expert in this latter department.

5. Triennial Act,
1694.

As Parliament and the Ministers grew more and more out of harmony, the Commons, fearing that a dissolution might bring back a Whig Parliament favourable to the King, and that he might try to keep it indefinitely in power, passed the Triennial Act. This decided that Parliament should not last longer than three years at most. The period was afterwards, in 1716, extended to seven years.

V. Third Parliament (Whig).

1695.

The fears of the Tories were realised, and the new Parliament proved to be strongly Whig. The unreasonable opposition of the Tories had provoked a re-action against them, and there was also a feeling of insecurity caused by the dealings which some of them certainly had with James. On the other hand William's recent capture of Namur gave new confidence in the King's foreign policy and strengthened the Whigs.

The Whig Junto was therefore in harmony with the new House of Commons, and was to that extent similar to a modern Cabinet. But each member was consulted, as he had been chosen, individually by the King, and there was no idea of joint responsibility. Only gradually, and from these unintentional beginnings, did the practice become fixed that the Cabinet should not only be unanimous in opinion, but that its members should stand and fall together.

(For growth of Cabinet cf. *Taswell Langmead* ch. 16; *Morley's Walpole* ch. 7; *Bagehot* ch. 1, 8, 9.)

1. Treason Act, 1696.

The Treason Bill, which had been introduced in the former Parliament, was passed in 1696. It provided :

(1) that the accused should have a copy of the charge

brought against him, and a list of the jury which was to try him.

(2) That he should be allowed lawyers and witnesses for the defence ;

(3) For a verdict of guilty at least two witnesses for the prosecution were to be necessary.

While this discussion was in progress two plots in favour of James were discovered. The Duke of Berwick, a son of James II., proposed an invasion to be helped by France. But the French were not very able or willing to help, and the scheme hung fire. The second was an 'Assassination Plot' headed by Sir George Barclay, to murder William as he returned from hunting. It was discovered, and those concerned were executed. They were tried with great haste in order to deprive them of the advantages they would have enjoyed had the Treason Act come into force. Even after it had become law political reasons were strong enough to deprive Sir John Fenwick of its advantages. As two witnesses could not be brought against him he was executed by an Act of Attainder, though this was only passed after considerable opposition.

a. Plots:

Berwick's Plot.

Assassination Plot.
1696.

Fenwick's case.
1697.

The Assassination Plot led to the formation of "The Loyal Association," which was a union of many thousands to avenge the King's death if he should be murdered.

"The Loyal Association."

It was becoming evident to Louis XIV. that he could not break down the English opposition, and as he grew poorer England grew richer. He was therefore driven, in 1697, to make the *Peace of Ryswick*. For the moment William became popular and he was given an increased revenue. But the determination of Parliament to reduce the Army sorely grieved him, not only because he felt that the measure showed he had not the confidence of the nation, but also because he knew that only by a strong army could he keep Louis at peace. When he was compelled to send away even his Dutch Guards, he was with difficulty persuaded not to abandon England altogether.

3. Peace of Ryswick
1697.

The Fourth Parliament was elected at this time. It contained a large number of Tories, and followed on these lines. It then passed a Bill annulling many grants of land in Ireland which William had made to his supporters, principally Dutchmen. These foreign friends were still further attacked in an address from Parliament begging the King to limit his favours to Englishmen only.

VI. Fourth Parliament (Tory)

1. Reduction of Army, 1699
2. Resumption Bill.
1700.

The Fifth Parliament began by passing the Act of Settlement. William had no children, and his wife's sister Anne, who succeeded him, had suffered the loss of all her family except one, the Duke of Gloucester. He too died in 1700 and the question of the succession was thus an important one. James II.'s descendants being all Roman Catholics they were

VII. Fifth Parliament.

x. Act of Settlement
(or Succession)
1701.

debarred from succeeding by the Bill of Rights. The nearest heir after these was Sophia, Electress of Hanover, who was the daughter of James I.'s daughter Elizabeth. The Act of Settlement accordingly gave the crown to her and to her heirs.

At the same times steps were taken to settle still further the English Constitution. In doing this English parties played parts which at first sight seem contradictory to their ordinary principles. The Tories were usually the party in favour of maintaining the royal power. But during the whole of this reign they had had experience of the royal power being exercised against themselves. Accordingly they took advantage of their present majority to restrict it. The Whigs, for their part, knew by experience that ministers might be powerful even in opposition to the House of Commons, and just now a Tory Ministry was in office. They accordingly joined in restricting the power of the ministers. Both parties had suffered from William's preference for Dutchmen, so provisions were introduced against foreigners. The House of Commons had always viewed with dislike the growth of "Cabals" and "Juntos": this explains the Articles intended to restore influence to the Privy Council as a whole.

The constitutional provisions of the Act of Settlement (or Succession) may be summarised as follows:

i. *Articles relating to the King:*

1. He must conform to the Church of England;
2. He might not engage in war on behalf of his continental dominions without the consent of Parliament;
3. He might not leave Great Britain without consent of Parliament; (this was repealed in George I.'s reign);
4. He might not pardon ministers impeached by the House of Commons.

ii. *Articles relating to Ministers of State:*

1. They (as also Members of Parliament) must be Englishmen;
2. They could not sit in Parliament; (this was modified in 1705 so that only holders of offices created after that year were excluded, whilst ministers holding older offices had to vacate their seats and seek re-election. Minor officials are also excluded from Parliament).

iii. *Articles relating to the Privy Council:*

1. It must be consulted in all state affairs; (this was repealed next year as it was at once seen—as formerly in Temple's days—that the whole Council was too unwieldy for practical government);
2. Its members were to sign resolutions to which they assented; (this also was at once repealed as men were not willing to give advice if they were liable to be punished for it).

iv. *Judges were to hold office "during good behaviour."*

The Tories had never been favourable to William's continental wars, mainly because they kept out the Stuarts, and now they impeached the late Whig Ministers, Somers, Portland, Orford and Montague. The alleged reason was the Partition Treaties. It was directed really of course against the King and his continental policy and was obviously a piece of party spite. Just now Louis wantonly seized from Spain the fortresses on the Dutch border. This exposed the Netherlands to easy attack, and it was vital to English trade that they should not be ruled by France. A feeling accordingly grew up more favourable to active opposition to Louis, and the peace policy of the Tories became unpopular. When a petition from Kent was presented to Parliament asking the Commons to support the King, and to "turn their loyal addresses into Bills of supply," the Tory majority decided that this was an undue interference with the powers of the house, and committed the leading petitioners to the Tower. William took advantage of this rising feeling in favour of war against France to conclude the Grand Alliance (of England, Austria and the Dutch).

2. Impeachment of Ministers.

3. Anti-Jacobite reaction.

a, Kentish Petitioners, 1701.

b, Grand Alliance. (*Ascendancy of France*, 340).

c, Death of James II. and Louis XIV.'s repudiation of T. Ryswick.

Louis himself set the seal to the success of William's aims. By the Treaty of Ryswick he had promised that when James II. died he would not recognise his son as heir to the English throne. James died the day before the Grand Alliance was signed, and at once Louis acknowledged his son's title. The insult to the nation, whose Parliament had deliberately excluded his claims, united all parties in unanimous indignation. William confidently pushed forward his preparations for a renewal of the struggle, this time with the nation at his back. But early in 1702 his horse stumbled over a mole-hill in Hampton Park, and the fall brought on a fever which ended fatally in a fortnight.

2. SCOTLAND.

The Revolution in Scotland was not quite so peaceful as that in England for it was marred by a battle and a crime. (*Macaulay* ii. 20; *Trail* 101).

Argyle and two commissioners tendered the coronation oath to William, who took it, but refused to have any share in the persecution of churchpeople. Still this proceeded, for Presbyterianism was ever intolerant. Dundee had fled to the north, and gathered round him malcontents in large numbers. General Mackay, in command of William's army, set out to quell them. His men, worn out by forced marches, were surprised at Killiecrankie and cut to pieces by the rush of the Highlanders. Dundee was killed by a chance shot. Deprived of their leader, the Highlanders were soon dispersed before the advance of the regular troops, and Mackay, having built Fort William, proceeded to make roads for the quicker movement of his troops. Lord Dalrymple of Stair, an able lawyer, and Lord Melville, were appointed to rule over Scotland.

Killiecrankie. (*Macaulay* ii. 58).

1689.

Glencoe.

Two years later Lord Breadalbane, one of the Campbells, proposed a scheme for the settlement of the north. By it a free pardon with a sum of money was given to all who took the oath of allegiance and surrendered their arms before 31st December, 1691. Most did so except the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who lived in the midst of the Campbell country near Loch Leven. The Campbells desired both their land and their absence. Breadalbane told the Macdonald that his money would be forfeited for injuries inflicted on the Campbells. Owing to this and to fear of disarmament by their powerful neighbours, the Macdonalds did not come in till December 30th. Even then the oath was not formally taken till January 6th. In the meantime their names were sent in as the only Scots who had refused to make submission, and William was persuaded to sign a document ordering their destruction. It is only fair to say that the King had no knowledge of the circumstances. But the order was signed, and the performance of the massacre was entrusted to Argyle's regiment. For a week they lived amicably with the Macdonalds at Glencoe, and then one snowy morning the horrible deed was done on the unsuspecting clan. The news created universal horror, but no real punishment was ever meted out to the murderers, although Breadalbane and Dalrymple who had arranged the massacre lost their offices.

(Macaulay ii. 332;
Traill 101-3).

3. IRELAND.

- i. *James's Early Success*
 - a. Tyrconnel
 - b. French support
 - c. Siege of Londonderry raised 1689
 - d. Newton Butler 1689
 - e. Bantry Bay
- ii. *Arrival of William III.*
 - a. Battle of the Boyne
 - b. French victory off Beachy Head
 - c. Capture of Waterford
 - d. Churchill takes Cork and Kinsale
- iii. *Treaty of Limerick 1691*

i. James' early success.

The rise of William to the throne of England embittered the rivalry between himself and Louis. When James II. fled from England to Versailles he was treated with great respect and promised every help against his usurping nephew. There was small opportunity of attacking the new king in England or Scotland, but in Ireland there seemed at once to be scope.

a, Tyrconnel.

James's champion, Tyrconnel, had driven the Protestants from office, had persecuted their religion, and had occupied every town except Londonderry. The 'prentices' of that town refused to admit the garrison brought by Lord Antrim. Sixty miles south, Enniskillen also declared for William. To these two towns flocked every opponent of James II., for

b, French support.

Tyrconnel with an army of 50,000 men ruled supreme elsewhere. Re-assured by the news of Tyrconnel's success, and with money, arms and officers from Louis, James II. set sail for Ireland. He landed at Kinsale. His progress to Dublin was one long triumph. The island seemed to be his, for only Derry and Enniskillen held out for William, and against the former Hamilton was moving with a strong force.

James determined to join them, and Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, promised to open the gates. His treachery was discovered and he was forced to flee. A soldier named Baker and a Puritan divine named Walker then organised the defence. The siege was long and stubborn. James soon retired to Dublin, and a French general, Maumont, who was left in command, was killed in a sortie. Hamilton took his place, and a boom was erected across the river to prevent the entrance of the relief ships which had been sent. For weeks they lay outside the bar inactive. At length the sufferings of the besieged, increased by the brutality of Von Rosen, caused a desperate effort to be made. Two ships stormed and broke through the boom, and Londonderry was saved. Almost at the same time Enniskillen was preserved by the timely attack of Colonel Wolseley on the besiegers at Newton Butler. The fugitives from the field joined Von Rosen's retreating force from Derry, and the whole mass fled from Ulster, which was thus entirely freed from James's army.

In the meantime money and stores were being poured into the country from France, despite Lord Herbert's fruitless attack on a French fleet at Bantry Bay. The Irish Parliament confiscated the property of all who resisted James, and bitterly persecuted the Protestant clergy.

In 1689 the arrival of Schomberg with 10,000 men raised the hopes of the Protestants, but little was done until the arrival of William himself in the next spring. Louis to counterbalance sent this some French regiments. William with an army of 36,000 men at once marched south to meet James, who, after retreating, turned and gave battle south of the Boyne, with Drogheda on his right and the bridge at Slone on his left. The battle took place on July 1st. There is little doubt that William, to spare his uncle, refused to crush him completely. Instead of a strong flank attack, the younger Schomberg was ordered to seize the bridge and drive off O'Neil. Lauzun checked him with his French troops. William's centre under the elder Schomberg boldly forded the river and made good a position on the opposite side. Only the Irish opposed them there, but an attack by Hamilton's cavalry killed Schomberg and might have broken their ranks, had not William himself arrived. He with the cavalry crossed near Drogheda, and brought relief to his centre. Then, wheeling, he

c, Siege of London-derry.
(Macaulay i. 726-71).

Siege of London-derry raised, 1689.

d, Newton Butler.
(Macaulay i. 774).

e, Bantry Bay.

ii. Arrival of William.

a, B. of the Boyne.
(Macaulay ii. 190;
Traill 86-9.

broke the enemies' line by a flank attack. Only the gallantry of the French saved James's army from massacre. William by this battle secured his hold over Ireland.

b, French Victory
off Beachy Head.
(Macaulay li. 180).

But Louis had inflicted a blow on England during the King's absence from England. Having fitted out a strong fleet under Tourville, he had thoroughly beaten the English and Dutch Fleets off Beachy Head. Admiral Herbert, by his refusal to support his allies, and by his anxiety to seek safe shelter for himself, had left the Dutch to bear the brunt of the battle. Their inevitable defeat enabled the French to command the Channel and burn Teignmouth. They might easily have done worse, but fortunately they returned home.

c, Capt. of Water-
ford.

1690.

d, Cork and
Kinsale.

The news of the disaster forced William to go south. From Dublin he proceeded to Waterford, and finally cornered the Irish and French forces at Limerick. The bravery and resource of the one Irish general of the time, Patrick Sarsfield, forced William to raise the siege and retire to England. A little later John Churchill landed near Cork, and took that town as well as Kinsale. Winter then stopped hostilities till the following year.

Tyrconnel and St. Ruth came from France to take command of the Irish forces, whilst Ginkell, an experienced Dutch general opposed them. The latter with unexpected activity seized Athlone in spite of St. Ruth, who thereupon, to save his reputation, gave battle at Aughrim. His forces were defeated by a flank attack of the "Blues" across a morass, and he himself was killed. Galway soon after capitulated and only

iii. T. of Limerick,
1691.

(Macaulay li. 291).

Limerick remained to James. With the English commanding sea and land, the Irish position was untenable and Limerick surrendered on the following terms :

(1) All Irish troops were to be allowed to withdraw to France.

(2) Roman Catholics were to be allowed free exercise of their religion.

The treaty was ratified by the English Parliament, but at the meeting of the Irish Parliament, composed wholly of Protestants, it was set aside. The laws against Roman Catholics became so harsh that for a century Ireland was crushed. Well was Limerick called "the city of the violated Treaty."

(Macaulay li. 300).

4. WILLIAM III. and LOUIS XIV.

i. Early Rivalry

ii. War with France 1688—97

a. French Successes—Ireland, Beachy Head, Fleurus, Mons, etc.—but defeated on Sea off La Hogue

b. Turn of the tide

1. French capture Namur but are checked at Steinkirk 1692

2. French victory at Neerwinden (or Landen) 1693

3. Increasing wealth of England : Bank of England founded 1694
 4. William's capture of Namur 1695
 5. Peace of Ryswick 1697
- iii. *The Spanish Succession*
- a. The rival claimants
 - b. International importance of the question
 - c. Attempts at settlement
 - 1st Partition Treaty 1698
 - 2nd Partition Treaty 1700
 - d. Failure of the attempts at Settlement
 1. Disapproval of Spaniards
 2. Louis' repudiation of the Partition Treaty
 - e. Opposition to Louis
 1. European difficulties
 2. Apathy of England and Holland
 3. Louis' actions
 - (1) Occupies Frontier Towns
 - (2) Acknowledges Stuart Title
 4. Formation of the Grand Alliance
 5. Death and Work of William III.

William of Orange from his earliest youth had realised that France was the natural enemy of his country. At the age of ten he saw his own principality in the possession of Louis. It was many years before he was enabled to play the part of the saviour of his country. The shameful treaty of Dover (Charles II.) in 1671 gave him his first opportunity. The French invasion of the United States of the Netherlands was not successful, for the young prince fought as one who was ready on behalf of his cause to die in the last dyke. It was about this time that he married Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. The encroachments of Louis on the Spanish Netherlands called for constant watching on the part of William. Before he was definitely forced again to face his redoubtable enemy, he had become King of England and was the recognised leader of the European opposition to Louis' inordinate ambition.

After the preliminary skirmishes in Ireland which have been already described, he set about to form the strong coalition which was called *The Grand Alliance*. Holland, Spain, the Emperor, Savoy, and England, all joined to curb the ambitious Louis, and to reduce his territorial acquisitions to France's natural boundaries. The Emperor began by winning back Mainz and Bonn, but his triumph was shortlived. The French gained command of the Channel by defeating the Dutch and English fleets off Beachy Head; the Imperialists were defeated on the same day at Fleurus; Savoy was over-run by the French. The year 1691 saw the capture of Mons by Louis in spite of relief brought by William.

Louis determined to invade England and crush the Netherlands at the same time. 30,000 men were told off for the former task, and 100,000 were sent into the Netherlands

R

I. Early Rivalry.

(Traill ch. I.

Asc. of France 246-8)

II. War with France
1688-1697.

(Asc. of France 258).

a, French successes

1688-9.

Ireland.

Beachy Head, 1690.

Capture of Mons.
1691.

1692.

b, Turn of the Tide.

1. B. of La Hogue,
1692.

2. French capture
Namer but check-
ed at Steinkirk,
1692.

1693.

3. B. of Neerwinden
(or Landen).

(*Traill* 106).

4. Increasing wealth
of England; Bank
of England, 1694.

5. Capture of Namur
1695.

(*Macaulay* ii. 526-32;
Traill 136.9).

6. P. of Ryswick, 1697

(*Traill* 150-5
Asc. of France, 264).

Results.

against William. James, to further his cause, published a declaration in England in which he foreshadowed his restoration by means of French troops. This bound all classes in England against him. The English fleet, under Admiral Russell, which he hoped would desert to his side, utterly destroyed Tourville's ships, and the battle of La Hogue restored to England the sovereignty of the seas, and removed all fears of a French invasion.

On land Louis was more successful. Namur was forced to surrender, but William checked him at Steinkirk and prevented any further advance.

Luxemburg however proceeded to attack the fortresses of Huy, Liege and Maestricht. The first fell, and, to save the others, William was forced to weaken his force in order to strengthen their garrisons. The French general then fell on him and defeated him at Neerwinden. The year 1694 saw further French success, but it was success which was draining the treasury of France. England on the other hand did not feel the stress of the war, for her trade was constantly increasing and the formation of the Bank of England steadied the national finance. After some brilliant strategy William in 1695 out-maneuvred Villeroy, and forced Boufflers to yield at Namur. It marked the turning of the tide, and its moral effect throughout Europe was immense. Moreover France was bankrupt, though for two years the war lingered on. Finally peace was signed at Ryswick.

(1) England was freed from the fear of invasion by the French acknowledgment of William as King and Anne as his successor ;

(2) the Dutch were to garrison the great fortresses of the Netherlands ;

(3) all conquests made in the war were to be restored.

It was really a truce to enable the Powers to recover before the next great European war, which all knew was inevitable.

France continued her inordinate military and territorial ambition, which was to plunge her, before many years had passed, into the ruinous war of the Spanish succession. England on the other hand had not only gained the point for which she had gone to war and had obtained the recognition of the King of her choice, but she had gained enormously in prestige. She was universally recognised as the leader of Europe against French ambition.

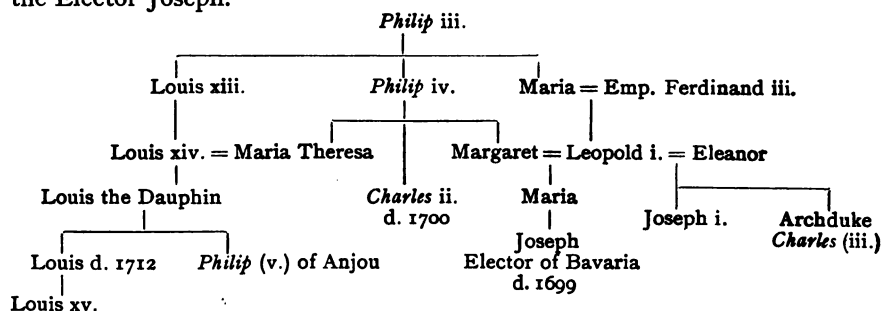
It must be remembered that much more than the dynastic question was at stake. The war was not only about the English succession or the expansion of France in Europe ; it was also the first of that series of wars, which Seeley has called " a kind of Second Hundred Years War," in which England contended with France for the Colonial Empire of the world. Though this colonial rivalry does not figure very

(*Expansion of Eng-
land* 24, 29-31, 106).

largely either in the war we have just described, or in the Treaty of Ryswick which ended it, the fighting in Europe between the English and French armies was accompanied by much rivalry between English and French colonists in North America and even in India. In fact the great duel between England and France for the possession of the New World had begun. "Commerce" as Adam Smith says, "which ought naturally to be, among nations as among individuals, a bond of union and friendship, has become the most fertile source of discord and animosity."

Ever since the accession of Charles II. of Spain in 1665 a great fear had filled the minds of European statesmen. He was the last representative of the Hapsburgs, and as there was no direct heir to his immense dominions his death was likely to cause the outbreak of a struggle for the spoils which might involve all Europe. The stake was immense. The Spanish Empire included Spain, the Netherlands, Naples, Sicily, and Milan, in Europe, huge colonies in South America, and rich islands in the West Indies.

The problem of the succession to this was most complicated. The three claimants were Louis the Dauphin, Leopold I., and the Elector Joseph.



The direct heir was obviously the Dauphin of France. But his mother, on her marriage with Louis XIV., had expressly renounced all claims to Spain, on behalf of herself and her children, in return for her dowry. This dowry had however never been paid, and moreover it is always arguable to what extent later generations are bound by promises made by their predecessors. *Morally* they may be bound but experience has shown that *actually* they cannot be.

The Emperor Leopold had a strong case, for his mother, the aunt of Charles II. of Spain, had never renounced her rights.

There was yet a third claimant, the Elector Joseph of Bavaria, the descendant of Charles's other sister Margaret. She, on her marriage with the Emperor Leopold, had renounced her claims like her sister.

a, The rival claimants.
(*Asc. of France*, 313).

b. International importance of the question.

The question however was too great to be treated merely as a balancing of genealogical details: it was a most important one of practical politics. To Europe it presented itself in a form which shows the dangerous possibilities which underlay it: was the enormous empire wealth, power, and influence of Spain to be added to the territory, wealth, power and influence of either France or of Austria? Whichever of these obtained the Spanish crown there would arise infinite danger, for the addition of such enormous territories would make the successful power absolutely supreme in Europe.

(Expansion of England 32).

It was the recognition of this fact which led both the principal claimants to pass on their claims to younger sons—to Philip of Anjou and the Archduke Charles respectively—each being unlikely to succeed to his family territories. It was similarly the recognition of this fact that led the maritime powers of northern Europe to claim and take such a practical share in the solution of the problem. If either France or Austria received the rich inheritance it would not only obtain an absolute supremacy in European politics but it would be able to shut out any other nation from the rich trade of South America, the Indies, and the Mediterranean. Vital commercial as well as political interests were accordingly at stake.

c. Attempts at Settlement.

It was thus that the idea of division came to be put forward. Louis himself proposed it. He recognised the obstacles in the way of obtaining the whole for his own family. Moreover the late war had shown him the difficulty of gaining any more territory on his north-west frontier, and the growing strength of England taught him that he could not permanently shut her out from the Indies. Under these circumstances the *First*

1st Partition Treaty 1698.

Partition Treaty was arranged in 1698:

(Traill 158; Asc. of Fr. 321).

1. Spain, Spanish Netherlands, Indies, went to Joseph of Bavaria.
2. Sicily and Naples went to Philip of Anjou.
3. Milan went to the Archduke Charles.

It was a happy solution. Joseph, as the least dangerous of the three claimants, received the main share of the spoils. He was not distasteful to any of the interested parties, and he was not unacceptable to the Spanish people since he was still young enough to be educated as a Spaniard. Louis might be expected to be satisfied with the command of the Mediterranean which he retained, while Leopold's power in North Italy was strengthened. It was, as Ranke says, "an arrangement which was in harmony with existing circumstances, and which could probably have been carried out."

Death of Joseph.
(Asc. of Fr. 323).

Joseph's death in the following year upset the promising arrangement, and a fresh solution had to be found. This could not possibly be so satisfactory as the other. Only two

claimants remained and each was bound to be unacceptable to some of the parties so vitally concerned.

In the Second Partition Treaty the former principle, of giving the chief share to the least powerful claimant, was again followed. Charles was to have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands; Philip the rest. Under the difficult circumstances this arrangement also was as good as could be expected, and it was generally approved. But there were two elements of danger. (1) If opportunity occurred would Louis be able to resist the temptation of gaining the Empire for his grandson? (2) Would the Spaniards, always a proud people, suffer without a struggle this cool division of their territories without reference to their own wishes?

As a matter of fact, the Spaniards were, naturally, exceedingly annoyed. A contemporary pamphlet which gave the English nation its nick-name of "John Bull" very well described the circumstances: "it was a great rage into which poor old Lord Strutt fell on hearing that his runaway servant Nick Frog, his clothier John Bull, and his old enemy Lewis Baboon, had come to survey his estates and draw out his will for him." This rage was fanned by Louis himself. He urged on the Spaniards the old family alliance, the strength of France, the rivalry of English trade, and the Protestant interest of England and Germany which was undoubtedly on the side of the Archduke. The result was that Charles made a will leaving his possessions wholly to Philip of Anjou.

Within a month he died and all Europe anxiously wondered what Louis would do. Fifteen days passed in strained suspense. Then at Versailles came the dramatic scene when the great king presented his grandson to the assembled courtiers with the fateful words, *Messieurs, voici le roi d'Espagne!*

For the moment Europe was too astounded to act. Louis had broken his kingly word. He had wantonly repudiated a treaty of his own making. He had thrown to the winds all considerations of honesty and good faith. Could he succeed?

At first it looked as if he could and would. If the Archduke was to be enforced upon the Spaniards it would have to be at the point of the bayonet. On the other hand they welcomed Philip. Moreover Englishmen were indifferent to the danger which was involved in the union of France and Spain: it seemed too remote to be worth going to war about, and a fresh war would still further strengthen the unpopular William. Similar indifference was shown in Holland. Louis' boast seemed to have come true: *il n'y a plus de Pyrenees.*

With tact and conciliation he might have succeeded. He showed neither. He at once occupied the frontier towns of the Netherlands, refusing all compensation to the Emperor and

and Partition Treaty
1700.

d, Failure of attempts at Settlement.

1. Disapproval of the Spaniards.

2. Louis' repudiation of the Partition Treaties

(*Asc. of Fr.* 331-2).

e, Opposition to Louis.

1. European difficulties.

2. Apathy of England and Holland.

(*Traill* 189).

3. Louis' actions.

(1) occupies frontier towns.

imprisoning the Dutch garrisons. He denied freedom of commerce in the Indies to Holland and England. Still no one moved.

(ii) acknowledges
Stuart Title.

(*Lacey* I. 37;
Asc. of Fr. 340).

The spark which lit the great conflagration probably seemed to Louis at the time a small and natural incident. Just at this juncture James II. died, and Louis at once acknowledged his son as "King James III. of England." Again he was deliberately violating a treaty he had made (the Treaty of Ryswick) but this time he committed not only a moral crime but a political blunder as well. He did what all William's statecraft had failed to do: he united Englishmen in determined exasperation against him and all his ways. They had stood by in silence while their influence in Europe had been slighted; they had even borne injury to their commercial interests; but now their national pride was touched to the quick. All parties joined eagerly in support of William, and a united England joined heartily with the Dutch and the Emperor against the insolent tyrant of Europe.

4. Formation of the
Grand Alliance,
1702.

By the winter of 1702 this *Grand Alliance* was formed, (1) to make the Archduke Charles King of Spain, (2) to give Italy to Austria, (3) to open the Indies to the maritime powers and (4) to prevent France from forcing the Stuarts on England. Before actual war was declared William died, but in his last days he had infused into Englishmen the bitter hatred of France which had been the guiding principle of his own life. William had played a difficult part and played it well. Personally unattractive, his patience and steadfastness under severe trials call for warm praise. His tenacity saved not only England but Europe from the oppression of France.

5. Death and Work
of William III,
(*Traill* 196).

ANNE 1702—1714.

I. THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

- i. The Commanders—*a.* Marlborough (in Netherlands)
b. Eugene (in Italy)
c. Peterborough (in Spain).
- ii. Course of the War
 1. *Marlborough's 1st aim*—to separate French troops from France
 1st Campaign 1702—Meuse to Liege ; Rhine to Kaiserwerth
 2nd Campaign 1703—Meuse to Huy ; Rhine to Bonn
 Methuen Treaty with Portugal
 2. *French attack on Vienna*
a. Communications secured with Bavaria
b. Eugene forced back
c. The grand attack on Vienna
 3rd Campaign 1704—Marlborough's march to *Blenheim*.
 Capture of Gibraltar
 3. *Reaction*
 4th Campaign 1705
a. Inaction of Marlborough through indifference of Dutch
b. Withdrawal of Austrians
c. Peterborough's successes in Spain
 [French proposals rejected.]
 4. *The Year of Victories*—5th Campaign 1706
a. Capture of Madrid
b. *Ramillies*
c. Turin
 [French proposals rejected].
 5. *The Year of Disasters*—6th Campaign 1707
a. Almanza
b. Shovel wrecked
c. Inaction of Marlborough
 6. *Final Efforts*
 7th Campaign 1708—*Oudenarde*
 [French proposals rejected].
 8th Campaign—*Malplaquet*
 Failures in Spain
 7. *End of War*
a. Archduke Charles becomes Emperor 1711
b. Tories attain power in England—Disgrace of Marlborough
c. Peace of Utrecht 1713
 8. Criticism of Treaty of Utrecht
a. "The Shameful Treaty"
b. Its merits
c. English gains
d. Its international importance

The death of William III. saw all preparations for the war completed. He had as a successor in the command one of the greatest generals England has ever produced. John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, learnt the art of war under Louis XIV.'s great general, Turenne. In James II.'s reign he led the victorious forces at Sedgemoor, but joined William III.

^{1.} Commanders.
^{a.} Marlborough.

at the Revolution. He was afterwards guilty of disloyalty to his new as he had been to his old sovereign, but he remained in office throughout the reign. On Anne's accession he became commander-in-chief of the Allied Forces, while his wife was the queen's bosom friend : they called one another by the familiar names of "Mrs. Morley" and "Mrs. Freeman," the latter a suggestive indication of the relation in which its bearer, Churchill's wife, stood to the queen.

(*Lecky* i., 143 ;
Saintsbury's Marl-
borough ; cf.
Thackeray's
Esmond.)

As strategist and tactician the Duke of Marlborough, as he was in reward for his first great victory, was unrivalled. No stretch of country was too wide for his range of vision. His plans worked out with unfailing success, in spite of opposition at home and in the field. He never lost a battle. He was a successful leader, a skilful diplomatist, of charming manners, a warm and unfailing friend in private life, and a most affectionate husband. But he possessed an inordinate thirst for wealth and power, and this, coupled with the jealousy his unvarying success awoke in his rivals, at last caused his downfall.

b, Eugene.
c, Peterborough.

The allied troops were commanded in the Netherlands by Marlborough himself ; in North Italy by Prince Eugene ; in Spain by Peterborough. It was essential to drive the French from Holland, and Marlborough's earliest efforts were directed to that end. He was severely handicapped by the jealousy of the Dutch, and by their refusal to move from their own neighbourhood. Their great fear was that their country would again be captured by the French.

II. Course of the War.

1. Marlborough's 1st Aim = to separate French troops from France.
- 1st Campaign, 1702.
(*Asc. of Fr.* 349.)
- 2nd Campaign, 1703.

Marlborough's first movements were intended to drive Boufflers, the French commander, northwards, and so to cut off the French in the Netherlands from their own frontier. Advancing up the Meuse he captured Venloo, Ruremonde and Liège, while on the Rhine a Prussian force occupied Kaiserworth. By these means he posted himself strongly on the Rhine and the Meuse. In the next year he extended his line by advancing up the Meuse to Huy and up the Rhine to Bonn. The French were thus obliged to quit the enclosed territory round Cologne, but the Dutch failed in their attack on Antwerp.

2. French Attempt on Vienna :

- a, Communication secured with Bavaria ;

- b, Eugene forced back ;
(*Asc. of Fr.* 351.)

Meanwhile the French were securing their communications with Bavaria, by the capture of Hochstadt and Landau, preparatory to a bold attack on the Empire. Eugene was assailed from the Iser and the Inn by Villars and the Elector of Bavaria, with Tallard to back them up from behind, and by Vendome, who tried to push him over the Brenner Pass into Innsbruck. For the moment the Empire was saved by a rising of the Tyrolese against the French invaders, and by the defection of Savoy, the Prince of which country joined the allies and so cut France off from Italy. Portugal also was won over to the Grand Alliance by the Methuen Treaty.

Methuen Treaty.

(giving Portugal better terms for her trade with England than France enjoyed), and thus the Allies gained a much-needed entrance into Spain.

Next year the attack on the Empire was renewed. Marsin o, The grand attack on Vienna: 3rd Campaign, 1704. (Alison 69.) and the Elector were to march directly on Vienna, which the Hungarians were to attack from the other side at the same time. Tallard from Alsace was to support Marsin by protecting his flank against Marlborough. Villeroy in the Netherlands was to keep Marlborough occupied and so to prevent him from going to the Emperor's rescue. Vienna was thus completely isolated. Marlborough saw that it was of supreme importance that it should be saved, for if Vienna fell Austria would be obliged to go over to the French.

He had many difficulties to face. He had to persuade the Dutch to let him forsake the defence of their beloved Holland. He had to hoodwink Villeroy or he would compel his return by invading Holland. He had to avoid a flank attack from Tallard. His plan was brilliantly conceived and executed. He pretended he was going to invade France by way of the Moselle. This pleased the Dutch who agreed to remain at Maestricht to keep Villeroy from advancing on Amsterdam. It also served to keep Villeroy inactive for he dared not move till he saw how much truth there was in Marlborough's pretence. Accordingly he waited in vain at Treves. In point of fact Marlborough crossed the Rhine at Coblenz instead of striking up the Moselle, but even then he kept up the pretence of the French invasion by ordering a bridge to be thrown over the Rhine. At Mainz however he left the river and revealed his plans. His objective was the Danube and his intention was to throw himself between the French and Vienna.

Marlborough's march to Blenheim.

(Asc. of Fr. 353; Saintsbury 69.)

Pushing up the valley of the Neckar he struck the Danube near Ulm. Here he was strengthened by the coming of Eugene; Prince Louis of Baden joined him later. Eugene was told off to keep an eye on Tallard who had hastened from Strasburg and was hurrying along the other side of the Danube. The Allies stormed and took Donauwerth from the Elector and crossed into Bavaria. Tallard left Villeroy, who on discovering the trick had hastened South, to look after Eugene, and joined Marsin and the Elector at Augsburg. If they had been willing to wait, Marlborough's position would have been extremely critical. He was far away from his base, in a hostile neighbourhood, and without means of replenishing his stores or recruiting his army. Every day's delay weakened him, and Villeroy was soon on his way to the support of Tallard, for Eugene had quickly rejoined Marlborough. Vendome was prevented from crossing the Brenner by the Tyrolese. But Tallard had no wish to share with Villeroy the credit of crushing this impudent Englishman and he determined to attack him at

Blenheim 1704.
*(Asc. of Fr. 355;
 Saintsbury 76;
 Alison 76-99.)*

once. He recrossed the Danube and occupied a position behind the little river Nebel, which flows at right angles into the Danube. He himself commanded the right, filling the village of Blenheim with his troops. Marsin and the Elector commanded the left, holding the village of Lutzingen. A few



troops only were in the centre, which was strongly defended by marshes. It was a very strong position at all points: the marshes in the centre were supposed to be impassable, and as a matter of fact Eugene was actually unable to reach the Bavarians on the French left. Tallard hoped Marlborough would exhaust his attack by costly attempts on the two villages, after which he could easily be overcome by an advance of the two wings.

But the English commander saw that the centre was the key to the situation. Nothing is impossible to genius, and the marshes were not impassable to Marlborough. While Eugene held Marsin and Cutts attacked Tallard, he succeeded in pushing himself through the French centre. Turning on his left he caught Tallard like a rat in a hole, for his retreat was blocked by the Danube: he was forced to surrender with all his troops. The rest of the army fled, pursued by Eugene. Marlborough's first thought was to write a hastily-pencilled note to his wife: "I have not time to say more but to beg you will give my duty to the Queen, and let her know Her Army has had a Glorious Victory. Monsr. Tallard and two other generals are in my Coach and I am following the rest."

The results of the battle were far-reaching. (1) Not only was the Empire saved, but (2) French prestige was shattered and (3) their power of attack was broken. (4) The position of the English Army as of first-rate importance among the forces of the allies was thoroughly recognised, while (5) Marlborough's pre-eminence both at home and abroad was

indisputable. To England belonged the chief share of the credit for the victory and (6) her position on the Continent was improved accordingly.

The English were no less successful on sea than on land. In 1702 Admiral Rooke captured the Spanish Plate Fleet and destroyed many of the French vessels at Vigo. In 1704 he captured Gibraltar and held it against repeated attacks. It gave the Allies a strong post at the entrance to the Mediterranean and prevented the French from sending troops to North Italy.

Capture of Gibraltar

The year which followed Blenheim saw the land operations confined to the Netherlands. There, Marlborough's plans for driving the French back to their own country were spoiled by Dutch apathy, and by the death of the Emperor Leopold which recalled the Austrian troops. Marlborough forced Villeroy back on Brussels, and only Dutch timidity prevented an anticipation of Waterloo, with the situations reversed; for Villeroy stood at bay on precisely the same ground that Wellington occupied when he defeated Napoleon in 1815.

3. Reaction.

4th Campaign, 1705.

a, In-action of Marlborough.

b, Withdrawal of Austrians.

The Earl of Peterborough was in command in Spain. A restless and indefatigable leader, he was constantly the hero of the unexpected. He was a daring and resourceful commander, but not a great general. Impatient and lacking in restraint, he was too ready to see rivalry and insult where nothing of the kind was intended. In conjunction with the Archduke Charles he first attacked Barcelona. By his own personal bravery the town was taken. Montjuich fell soon after and Catalonia at once declared for Charles. But this merely made the rest of Spain more than ever in favour of Philip, and only the most absolute vigilance on the part of Peterborough retained the province.

c, Peterborough's victories in Spain. (Stebbing's *Peterborough, Age of Anne*, ch. 8.)

Louis proposed peace, on the basis of the 2nd Partition Treaty, but the Allies would not listen.

The year 1706 saw Marlborough's power and the fortune of the Allies at their height.

4. Year of Victories;

5th Campaign, 1706.

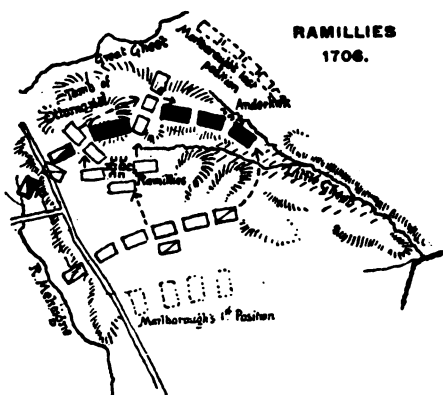
In Spain the Allies occupied Madrid and proclaimed Charles as King. But the Spanish opposition was thereby roused to a still higher pitch, and the impossibility of repressing a nation in rebellion forced the Allies to withdraw from the capital.

a, Capt. of Madrid.

In the Netherlands Villeroy determined to attack the victorious Marlborough. He gave battle at Ramillies. The French position was very strong. Their right flank was posted in the village of Tavières, which stands on high ground and is protected by the stream called the Mehaigne. The centre rested on the village of Ramillies and the mound called the Tomb of Ottomond. The left was guarded by the marshy ground of the Gheet. The whole line was in the form of an arc, of which Marlborough's line was the chord. He recog-

b, Ramillies.

(*Asc. of Fr.* 358; *Sainsbury* 94; *Atison* 144.)



nised the value of this fact : it enabled him to strike readily and promptly at any point he wished. Making a feigned attack on his right he drew large numbers of French troops thither. Then, under cover of rising ground, he sent his main attack to the left and centre. The struggle round the Tomb of Ottomond was fierce and sanguinary, but the French right was ultimately overcome. Marlborough drove it in on the centre and swept along the whole line, rolling it up in hopeless confusion. The French were pursued right into Brussels, which Marlborough soon entered, and there proclaimed the Archduke as Charles III. Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp surrendered, and by the end of the Campaign only Mons and Namur remained unconquered.

c. Turin.

Eugene conducted a brilliant campaign, winning North Italy for the Allies by the victory of Turin and driving the French behind their frontiers. There was thus no means of communication between France and Naples, and soon a revolution in the latter state completed the total loss of Italy. It was a fitting climax to the "year of victories."

French Terms
rejected.

The French offered terms of peace, but the Allies, flushed with victory, refused them. It was the best opportunity they ever had, and the terms they rejected were the best they ever received. Louis offered to give up the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch and to accept Milan and Sicily in discharge of his grandson's claims. The Allies soon began to regret their mistake for the next year was the "year of disasters." Spanish patriotism and Austrian lukewarmness made the capture of Madrid a barren conquest. Peterborough retired in disgust and Galway, who was without his predecessor's versatility and resource, soon met with disaster. His army was cut to pieces at Almanza by the Duke of Berwick, and the cause of the Allies never recovered from the blow. Prince

5. Year of Disasters;
6th Campaign, 1707.

a. Almanza.

Louis of Bavaria was surprised by Villars at Stollhofen and the Palatinate was devastated. At sea Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had shared with Rooke the honour of securing Gibraltar, was wrecked on his way home to England. Even the invincible Marlborough could do nothing : he failed to force a battle and therefore failed to score a victory.

b, Shovel wrecked.

c, Marlborough inactive.

The effects of this series of disasters made the Allies desirous of peace. Everyone was tired of the war, and Marlborough saw that only a decisive blow could secure the fruits of his work.

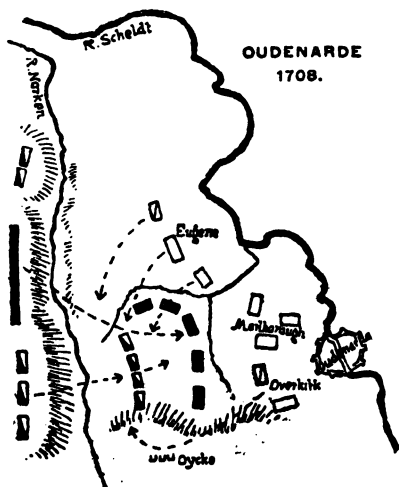
The French, encouraged by their successes in Spain and on the Rhine, began to recover the ground they had lost in the Netherlands. Ghent and Bruges were retaken, and Oudenarde, the fortress which covered them, was besieged. In covering too great an extent of country Vendome weakened his line, and Marlborough, now re-inforced by Eugene, saw his opportunity and at once attacked. The French had considerable advantage in numbers, but contradictory orders were given by commanders who were jealous of one another. They allowed themselves to be outflanked and defeated in detail. It was a "soldiers' battle," and consisted rather of a series of isolated fights than a single organised engagement. At the first assault the left of the Allies was broken soon after passing the Scheldt, and the French right pressed on, with their centre, to the level ground. Marlborough sent Overkirk, a tried old

6. Final efforts ;

7th Campaign, 1708.

Oudenarde.

(*Asc. of Fr.* 362 ;
Saintsbury 102 ;
Alison 213.)



Dutch general, to cut them off, and he occupied the heights in their rear. Meanwhile Eugene from the opposite wing, which Marlborough had made very strong, had also worked round, and the two wings actually fired some shots into each

other's ranks. When the mistake was discovered firing was stopped, and in this way many of the French escaped. But the victory was a real one. Marlborough now stood between the French Army and France, and he wished to march at once direct on Paris. But the fortresses of Lille and Mons remained untaken and Eugene feared to run the risk of leaving them in the rear. The reduction of the former took two months to accomplish and then affairs at home and abroad prevented the decisive march on the French capital.

French terms
rejected.

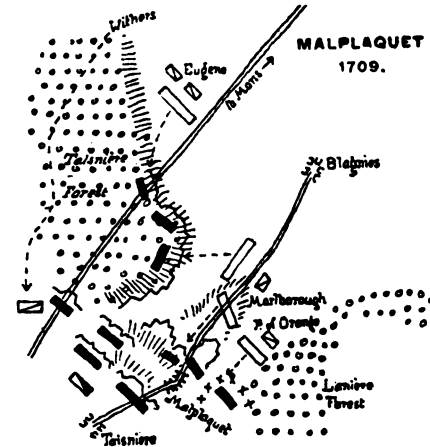
The strain of taxation was being severely felt by all concerned. In England it strengthened the Tories, who were always desirous of peace. The Queen too was slipping away from her subjection to the Duchess of Marlborough. France was on the verge of starvation. Her treasury was exhausted and her resources ended. Louis used every effort to come to terms, and made generous offers. But the allies were determined not only to defeat but also to disgrace France. They demanded that Louis should actually send troops against his grandson, who refused to forsake the Spaniards so long as they enthusiastically desired him for their King. The demand was outrageous. "If I must fight" said Louis, "I would rather fight against my enemies than my own people." He made a last appeal to French pride and French patriotism. With that wonderful vitality so characteristic of the French a new army was actually raised. Even boys volunteered to preserve the soil of France from the threatened foot of the invader. Nobles gave their plate, fine ladies their jewels, peasants their hoarded sous. Louis had never been more truly the leader of his people than when his last army was sent out. Villars, the only undefeated general, was placed in command. But his troops were only raw recruits, though their enthusiasm was splendid. Marlborough and Eugene forced him to come to the relief of Mons, which they threatened. He took up a position near Malplaquet between two wooded hills, on which he rested his flanks, while he strongly entrenched his centre. A frontal attack was the only possible course for the Allies. In the woods this was driven back with great loss, and even greater was the slaughter as Marlborough hurled his men again and again at the centre. It was not fighting but massacre. But at length Eugene's attack on the forces on the edge of the Forest of Taisniere, strongly fortified though the position was, began to tell, and meanwhile General Withers had crept right round to the rear. Villars was thus compelled to weaken his centre in order to hold his own against Eugene and Withers. Marlborough at once saw his opportunity. He ordered a fresh assault on the centre, and this time the gap was pierced, Villars himself being among the wounded. Boufflers effected a retreat in good order, leaving, it is said 20,000 of his enemies

8th Campaign, 1709.

Malplaquet.

(*Asc. of Fr.* 364;
Saintsbury 117;
Alison 270.)

dead on the field. It was a victory, it is true, and Mons fell to the victors, but, as Villars wrote to Louis, "if God vouchsafe that we should lose such another battle, your majesty may count your enemies destroyed."



Lord Stanhope had been sent to take command in Spain. He captured Port Mahon in Minorca, a valuable position in the Mediterranean. He then routed the Spanish at Almenarao and Saragossa, and the Allies again occupied Madrid. But again they could not hold it. They were cut off from supplies; guerilla warfare, in which the Spaniards are unequalled, decimated their ranks; Spanish patriotism was increasing; and now Vendome arrived to superintend operations. The end soon came. Stanhope was quickly forced to surrender at Brihuega and the Germans were defeated at Villa Viciosa. This ended the conflict in Spain: the Spaniards had won the crown for Philip, the King of their choice.

Failures in Spain.

An event now occurred which changed the whole aspect of the struggle. The unexpected death of the Emperor Joseph in 1711 made the Archduke Emperor as Charles III. It was doubtful now whether it would not be more advantageous for Spain to go to the grandson of the King of France than actually to the Emperor himself.

7. End of the war,

a. Archduke becomes Emp. 1711.
(Lecky i. 129.)

In England a change not less important had occurred. The Whigs, the supporters of the war, had lost power. The consequent accession of the Tories to power brought lukewarmness in conducting the war, of which everyone was heartily tired, and the changed position of the two candidates for the Spanish throne now gave an opportunity for ending it. Marlborough was accused of peculation and disgraced from his command and Ormonde who succeeded him was ordered to do

b. Tories attain power.

Disgrace of Marlborough.

nothing : the result was that Eugene was defeated at Denain and driven beyond the Rhine. The Emperor also met with disaster at Freiburg. Negotiations were carried on in secret by the Tories, and after much discreditable diplomacy, in which Louis, now no longer a suppliant, took a high hand, the *Peace of Utrecht* was signed. Its terms may be summarised as follows :

c. Peace of Utrecht,
1713.

(*Asc. of Fr.* 367;
(*Lecky* i. 152;
Saintsbury 122;
Reich's Documents
44.)

1. As regards England :

- (a) France was to give up the cause of the Stuarts and to banish the Pretender ;
- (b) England was to retain the conquests she had won from France in North America, namely Hudson's Bay Territory, Acadia (Nova Scotia), and Newfoundland ;
- (c) She was to keep Gibraltar and Minorca, which she had won from Spain ;
- (d) And she acquired by an *assiento*, or agreement, with Spain, a monopoly of the Slave Trade with South America for thirty years.

2. As regards France :

- (a) Philip was to retain Spain and the Indies ;
- (b) but was to relinquish all claim of succession to the French throne.
- (c) France was to be restricted to the west bank of the Rhine.

3. As regards the Emperor :

Charles was to retain Naples, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands.

4. As regards the Dutch :

They were to retain their Barrier Fortresses as a defence against France.

8. Criticism.

a. "The shameful Treaty."

The Peace of Utrecht, the work of the Tories, has been frequently denounced. (1) It is easy to censure the discreditable way it was brought about, (2) to regret the article about the Slave Trade, and (3) to blame the surrender of the Catalans. (4) It is easy to point out how the Emperor lost both the crown of Spain and the territory of Alsace, in spite of his unwavering opposition to French supremacy and of the pledges of the Grand Alliance. (5) There is no doubt the Tory ministers were anxious to secure peace as speedily as possible, without much regard to anyone except themselves, in order to strengthen their own position.

b. Its merits.

But the welfare of Europe gained much from it. Its prime merit was that it recognised actual facts. (1) It left the Spaniards free to have the king they had chosen. It recognised that France was undoubtedly the leading nation of Europe, but at the same time (2) it provided efficient checks on her frontiers : Austria and the Dutch on the north-east, Prussia and the Empire on the Rhine, Savoy to the south-east with

Austria beyond. (3) It recognised too the naval and commercial supremacy of England, whose career of colonial expansion had now definitely begun.

England of course gained most, both directly and indirectly. c, English gains.

(1) The actual event which had called Englishmen to arms had been Louis' acknowledgment of the Stuarts: he had been forced finally to abandon them. (2) More indirect motives which had influenced Englishmen had been those of commerce: the commercial gains were immense. (3) Again, the high European policy of William III. had been the checking of French expansion: this too was accomplished, for France was effectively chained. Moreover as the course of years brought to light the effects of the strain which had been imposed on France, it was seen that the war had involved her in financial difficulties from which she never recovered till the Revolution enabled her to commit national bankruptcy and begin afresh. (4) But it is only when we consider the ultimate effects of the Treaty that we fully realise its importance to England. Though the war was nominally about the Balance of Power in Europe it was really, so far as any rate as England was concerned, a struggle for the Colonial Empire of the world. The Peace of Utrecht did not by any means end the struggle, but it put England into such an advantageous position that no other nation has ever since been able to challenge her supremacy in this respect. Although the war carried the National Debt to thirty-four millions of pounds the cost was small when compared with the gains it ultimately brought.

(Expansion of Eng.
23, 31, 129-137.)

The Peace of Utrecht marks the end of a century which had been filled by two chief movements: (1) the attempt of France to force herself into the position of Dictator to Europe; and (2) the struggle of England to attain the commercial leadership of the world. The one had failed, the other had to all intents and purposes succeeded. The great King who had played the leading part in both struggles died soon afterwards: Louis XIV., the *grand monarque* who had guided the destinies of France and had so powerfully influenced the politics of Europe died in 1715.

d, International importance.

2. PARTY POLITICS.

i. *Anne*. a her title; b. her character; c. her popularity

ii. *Growth of Whig Influence* 1702-8

a. Tories attempt to pass Occasional Conformity Bill 1703

b. Aylesbury Election Case 1703

c. Election of Whig House of Commons 1707

d. Act of Union with Scotland 1707

e. Whig Ministry

iii. *Tory Triumph* 1708

a. Its causes

1. The Queen's antipathy to the Whigs

2. The Country tired of War
3. Fear of Marlborough
4. Intolerant persecution of Dr. Sacheverell
- b. Tory measures
 1. Occasional Conformity Act 1711
 2. Disgrace of Marlborough
 3. Peace of Utrecht 1713
 4. The Question of the Succession : intrigues and divisions among the Tories
 5. Death of Anne 1714
 6. Triumph of the Whigs

i. Anne.

a, her title.

b, her character.

c, her popularity.

Queen Anne was the daughter of James II. She was a Stuart in character as in descent. She had always been, and she always remained, under the influence of a stronger will. Her private life was irreproachable. She was sincerely religious and a strong Churchwoman. Throughout her reign her womanly virtues, the simplicity of her character, and the fact that she was a thoroughly English queen, gave her un-failing popularity.

When she came to the throne, the Whigs, to whose efforts the Revolution was due, were in power. The new queen, both from her political and religious opinions, was at heart a Tory. Her great friend the Duchess of Marlborough belonged to the same party. Consequently the first ministry was a Tory one : it consisted of men like Godolphin, Rochester, and Nottingham, and Harley and St. John early rose to influence.

ii. Growth of Whig Influence 1702-8.

a, Occasional Conformity Bill 1703.

(*Lecky* i. 115, 317;
Hutton 258.)

Their first measure was the *Occasional Conformity Bill*. The less scrupulous of the Dissenters were in the habit of evading the Test Act by sometimes receiving the Holy Communion in Church : they *occasionally conformed*. To a Churchman it seems a dreadful thing to make the Holy Sacrament a mere stepping stone to office ; but of course we must remember that they looked upon it as a mere sign or empty ceremony, and in their excuse may be urged the wrongfulness of passing such an Act as the Test Act at all. The Occasional Conformity Bill was to stop the practice we have mentioned. Had its object been a religious one it might have been justifiable, but its whole merit is destroyed when we remember that it was merely a political move to injure the Whigs.

The Tory House of Commons passed it therefore with readiness : the Whig House of Lords of course threw it out. The performance was repeated and a pretty quarrel broke out between the two Houses.

b, Aylesbury Election Case 1703.

The Aylesbury Election Case still more embittered the relations between the two houses and the two parties : the Commons tried to extend their privilege of deciding disputed elections to the extent of deciding also the qualifications of electors and were effectively restrained by the Lords.

The Commons then "tacked" the Occasional Conformity Bill to a Bill of Supply. This the Lords, by constitutional usage, could not amend, but they could, and did, reject it.

An appeal to the nation confirmed the verdict of the Lords. The General Election showed public opinion to be against the Tory ministers, and their prestige and power alike were weakened. Marlborough and Godolphin were against them because of their niggardly support of the war. Through the influence of these, Sunderland, a Whig, became Secretary of State, and other Whigs were gradually introduced.

The chief work of this "Composite Ministry" was the Act of Union with Scotland.

Since the accession of James I. the two countries had had the same sovereigns but otherwise had remained entirely distinct and independent. Each was jealous of the other, and so neither would agree to terms of Union for many years. As the Scots were mostly Jacobites this mutual hostility grew more marked, until at length the Scots in a *Bill of Security* chose as Anne's successor a different sovereign from that appointed by the Act of Settlement. It was therefore absolutely necessary that Union should take place, and after much trouble terms were arranged :

- (a) The succession to both thrones should be according to the Act of Settlement.
- (b) Scottish laws and Kirk were to remain unaltered.
- (c) Trading rights, taxation, and coinage were to be uniform in the two countries.
- (d) 45 Members of the House of Commons, with 16 Peers elected by the whole body of the Scottish Peers, were to join the Parliament at Westminster.

The end of the same year saw the dismissal of Harley and St. John from the Government, which became wholly Whig. Marlborough and Godolphin refused to work with the Tories any longer and insisted that the Ministry should be composed of men holding the same political opinions. This is, of course, the principle upon which Cabinet Government is now carried on.

But at the height of their success the Whigs began to decline. Various causes combined to give the Tories a great majority in the House of Commons, and the Queen was only too glad to get rid of the Whig Ministers on that score.

(1) The haughty wife of Marlborough had lost the Queen's favour, and her place had been taken by Harley's cousin, Mrs. Masham. (2) The heavy burden of taxation, urged with biting skill in Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*, made everyone anxious for the end of the Whig war. (3) Marlborough's request to be made Commander-in-Chief for life made men think he was aiming at a position like that of Cromwell. (4) Everyone was

c, Whig majority 1707.

d, Act of Union with Scotland 1707.

(Lacky i. 163; ii. 292-300.)

e, Whig Ministry.

iii, Tory Triumph 1708.

a, Causes.

tired of the war, and the accession of the Archduke to the imperial throne, as has been noticed already (p. 287) had entirely changed the whole state of affairs.

(*Lecky* i. 63;
Wakeman's Hist.
417.)

(5) But it was the unreasonable persecution of Dr. Sacheverell which finally gave the victory to the Tories. The Whigs attacked him for so-called "seditious language" in some of his sermons. He was a prominent Tory and the whole incident is, properly speaking, a somewhat foolish party squabble. With an absurd lack of proportion Sacheverell was actually impeached and of course convicted. Public sympathy naturally went out to him and he became a martyr and a hero.

The results to the Whigs were serious. A great Church and Tory re-action set in: the Tories triumphantly rode into power, with the extremists Harley and St. John at their head.

The new leaders of the Tories were in many ways different from their predecessors. They were both very ambitious, Harley for political power, St. John for European notoriety, and each had few scruples. The former was eminently a courtier, skilled in flattery and scheming. The latter was a brilliant writer and a clever diplomatist. But he was always dissatisfied and discontented. He was, like Harley, merely a party leader and was never entirely trusted even by his friends; accordingly nothing he attempted was successful. The Peace of Utrecht, though, as we have seen, excellent in its results, was prompted mainly by party motives. It was brought about by Harley and St. John by disgraceful methods which easily enabled the Whigs in the next reign to make them the victims of their revenge; while the failure of their attempt to make the Stuart succession another pawn in the game of party politics utterly discredited them.

b. Tory Measures.

1. Occasional Conformity Act 1711.

2. Disgrace of Marlborough.

3. Po. of Utrecht.

4. The Succession.
(*Lecky* i. 167-204.)

Their whole object seemed to be to retaliate on the Whigs. At once twelve new Peers were created to give the Tories a majority in the House of Lords and the Occasional Conformity Bill became law—to meet with the same neglect as the Test Act it was designed to enforce.

It was really the product of party struggles and the result of party bitterness. So too was the dismissal of Marlborough.

The first work of the Tory Government was to end the war. The second was to ensure the succession of a Tory King. Anne's health was failing and general opinion was in favour of hereditary succession if it could be managed. There is little doubt that if the Old Pretender, as James Edward, the son of James II., is called, would have surrendered the Roman Catholic religion he would have gained the English Crown. But he was no Henry of Navarre (see p. 193) and he remained true to his Faith. The only other hope for the Tories was to fill all offices with their friends. Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and St. John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, differed over the

methods to be adopted. Bolingbroke, himself a bitter unbeliever, introduced the Schism Bill in a despairing effort to please the extreme Tories, forbidding schoolmasters to teach without license from the Bishop. Harley opposed this and was driven from office by his unscrupulous colleague. The quarrel was fatal to themselves and their party, for before Bolingbroke could rearrange his schemes the Queen died. The Privy Council, a Whig body, by clever policy on the day of her death, filled the chief offices with Whigs. Bolingbroke lacked nerve for the prompt action which alone could have brought back the Stuarts ; and no open opposition was shown to the succession of the Elector of Hanover as King George I. of England.

5. Death of Anne
1714.

6. Triumph of Whigs

3. NOTE ON LITERATURE.

(cf *Age of Anne* 215—31)

In Anne's reign Literature was popular and was much patronised by politicians.

- Pope* 1688-1744—Deformed and irritable : of precocious intellect : copied Dryden in style. His verse was not original or inspired but graceful, smooth and correct. The *Rape of the Lock* is a mock-heroic Epic. The *Essay on Man* is philosophy on man's place in nature. His other works include a Translation of Homer, etc.
- (*L. Stephen's Pope.*)
- Swift* 1667-1745—As a pamphleteer rendered services to Will. III., who died before he could promote him. He was in consequence disliked by Tories, and fell between two stools, but ultimately became Dean of St. Patrick's. His *Tale of a Tub* is a satire on religious differences. His *Conduct of Allies* is a party pamphlet against Whigs and the war of the Spanish Succession. *Gulliver's Travels* is a satire upon Humanity. He outlived his genius and became sordid and bitter, and at last sank into idiocy.
- (*L. Stephen's Swift.*)
- Defoe* 1661-1731—Implicated in Monmouth's Rebellion and wrote in favour of William III. and the Revolution, e.g. *The True-Born Englishman*. His *Shortest way with Dissenters* is a sarcastic pamphlet against the Occasional Conformity Bill and is really a plea for toleration. He also wrote *Robinson Crusoe* and a *Journal of the Plague*.
- (*Minto's Defoe.*)
- Addison* 1672-1719—Made his fortune with *The Campaign* which is a description of Blenheim. Then he was appointed to various offices. He was modest and religious. *Cato* is a semi-political play. He wrote Essays in *Spectator* e.g. those on Sir Roger de Coverley, who is a typical country gentleman of the period : honest, religious, patriotic, but obstinate and old-fashioned.
- (*Courthope's Addison.*)
- Steele* 1675-1728—A friend of Addison : good-hearted, but spent his life "sinning and repenting." Started the *Tatler* and *Spectator* which added an essay to the usual news, and was the forerunner of the modern newspaper. His *Christian Hero* is full of deep piety.

GEORGE I. 1714—1727.

THE WHIG OLIGARCHY.

- i. *George I.—a* his title
 b. his character
 - ii. *Transfer of power to Whigs.* Causes :
 1. King's withdrawal from politics
 2. The Hanoverian Accession was a Whig triumph
 3. They had the support of the commercial classes
 4. Also of Protestant Dissenters
 5. And of House of Lords
 6. They made a selfish use of their power to strengthen themselves
 - e.g. (a) in appointment of Bishops
 - (b) and Peers
 - (c) Bribery and corruption
 7. H. of Commons not representative
 8. Meanwhile the Tories were weak
 - a in spite of many elements of strength.
 - b They were defeated
 - c and against the law
 - b and divided in opinions
 - iii. *Repressive measures of Whigs against Tories*
 1. Riot Act 1715
 2. Jacobite Rebellion 1715 causes severe measures
 3. Septennial Act 1716
 4. Peerage Bill 1719
 - iv. *Their ruling principle is "expediency"*
 - a Growth of indifference at home
 - b Maintenance of "Balance of Power" abroad
 - c though with disregard of the rights of nationalities
 - d Commercial rivalry
 - v. *Community of Interests leads to temporary Alliance with France.* T. of Westminster 1716.
 Opposition to Spanish aggression. B. of Cape Passaro 1718
 - vi. *Rise of Walpole*
 "South Sea Bubble" 1720 brought him to power
 His character
 His policy—*a.* Domestic
 1. his financial ability
 2. his bribery
 3. *quieta non movere*
 - Acts of Indemnity
 - Bangorian Controversy
 - Wood's Halfpence and Drapier's Letters
 4. Shedding of Ministers
 5. Prime Minister
 - b.* Foreign
 1. non-intervention
 2. diplomacy
 3. alliance with France
- The "Austrian Succession" causes difficulties

George I.
a, His Title.

George I.'s title to be King was given him entirely by Parliament. It rested on :—

- (i.) The Bill of Rights, 1689, which banned Roman Catholics and thus excluded the Stuarts ;
- (ii.) The Act of Settlement, 1701, which gave the throne of England to the Electress Sophia (his mother) ;
- (iii.) The Act of Union with Scotland, 1707, which gave the throne of Scotland to the same family.

He was also Elector of Hanover, and this personal union with the small German State lasted till 1837, often influencing English politics.

His wife was Sophia Dorothea of Zell, but she never came to England. He himself received a welcome in which absurd flattery mingled with the most savage abuse. One poet wrote :

*"Great George, like Phosphor from afar,
Decked with resplendent beams arises bright
To cheer the expectant world with more prevailing light."*

Another described him as *"Godlike in beauty"* :

*"Such Majesty, at its full length to draw,
Might the best master of the pencil awe."*

But others saw things differently, and spoke of him as

"The jest of Europe, and the factions' tool."

One of the most popular ballads of the time ran as follows :—

*"If Queen Anne had done justice, George had still
O'er slaves and German boobies reigned ;
On leeks and garlicks still regaled his fast,
In dirty Dowlas shirt and fustians dressed."*

b, His character.

(Thackeray's *Four Georges*.)

As a matter of fact, he was coarse and vulgar ; but he was sensible enough to know it, and to know that Englishmen cared as little for him as he did for them. They took him because he served their turn, and saved them from "Popery and wooden shoes." He took their loyalty for what it was worth. His aim was to lay hands on what he could, but otherwise to leave the country and its concerns to itself.

Under such circumstances, we may be sure the ideals of the period would not be high. The age of enthusiasm had passed away, and George I., with his vulgar habits, his indifference to the country to which he was called, and his mean intelligence, not inaptly represents the characteristics of the time. "In private life he would have been called an honest blockhead" said Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. He spoke no English, and his Ministers as a rule no German. The King became therefore a mere figurehead, and all power was monopolised by the Whigs.

11. Transfer of power to Whigs :

1. King's withdrawal from politics.

(Lecky I, 271-278.)

2. Hanoverian succession, a Whig triumph.

They were the Party which had secured the Hanoverian accession, and George consequently was bound to be on their side. They, for their part, looked on the business as merely a party triumph—as indeed it was—and did all in their power

to reap the fruits of victory and to punish the Tories. Ormond, Oxford, and Bolingbroke were impeached on account of their Treaty of Utrecht, and the Privy Council was confined to Whigs. Other causes contributed to the power of the same party. The Bank of England depended for its stability on their remaining in office: the Jacobite accession would assuredly have meant its ruin. The commercial classes, who were daily becoming more important as trade increased, were indifferent to politics, and readily supported the party in power so long as it governed tolerably well. Protestant Dissenters were, of course, Whigs. The House of Lords was composed largely of Whig landowners, who shared the offices of state amongst themselves for many years. The Bishops, like other people whom they appointed, were men who would still further increase the Whig majority in Parliament. Stanhope indeed tried to secure a permanent Whig majority in the House of Lords by his Peerage Bill, which was to prevent the future creation of new Peers in case a Tory majority might be elected in the Commons. This was too bare-faced an attempt at the creation of a Whig oligarchy even for those days, and Walpole saw that the better plan was to maintain power by systematic patronage, which was bribery in all but name. The House of Commons merely echoed the opinions of the aristocracy, for most of the constituencies were "pocket boroughs" whose representatives were nominated by noble or wealthy owners or by the Ministry, and the rest were "rotten boroughs" which openly set themselves up to public auction. The franchise was much restricted, and places of recent growth, such as Leeds and Manchester, had no representatives at all. The people were in consequence almost unrepresented in Parliament.

The Tories were in a difficult position. They were not without strength; they almost monopolised whatever enthusiasm there was in the country as well as whatever religion there was in the English Church. The Roman Catholics were naturally Jacobites; so were the Highlanders and the Irish; so were the clergy and country gentry. They had much of the literary ability of the country on their side. But they were in the position of a party which was not merely defeated but discredited, for the law of the land was against the King of their choice, and the natural instinct of England has always been strong in support of law. Moreover they lacked unity whereas the Whigs presented a compact front. Finally, the rightful heirs being Roman Catholics and the Tories as a Party being stalwart upholders of the Church of England, they were in the position of men who halt between two opinions. Trying to stand on two stools, they were unable to maintain themselves. They fell badly, and could not rise for many years.

(Lecky i, 259.)

3. Support of commercial classes.
(Lecky i, 233-251.)

4. Support of Protestant Dissenters.
(Lecky i, 23, 252-257.)

5. H. of Lords
(Lecky i, 212-232.)

6. Selfish use of power.

a, Bishops.

b, Peers.

(1719.)
(Lecky, i, 230.)

c, Patronage and bribery.
(Green 723-765.)

7. Unrepresentative character of House of Commons.

8. Weakness of Tories.
(Wakeman 424.)

a, Their strength.

b but defeated.
c, and against the law.

d. divided in opinions.
(Lecky i, 163-172.)

III. Repressive Measures:

a, Riot Act, 1715.

b, Jacobite Rebellion of '15.

(Green 725.)

Some local disturbances led to the passing of the Riot Act. If any crowd refused to disperse at a magistrate's bidding, its members became guilty of felony, and might be shot down.

The more decided amongst the Jacobites attempted a rebellion in 1715, but it never had any hope of success. There was no organisation and no competent leader, so the different sections were defeated in detail. French help failed at the critical moment, for Orleans was in power. The Earl of Mar was defeated at Sheriffmuir, and other Jacobites who rose in the North of England speedily surrendered at Preston. When the Pretender landed all was over, and he quietly returned to France.

It however served to mark the Tories with the stain of disloyalty, and gave the Whigs the excuse for severe measures. Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded, with some forty others.

c, Septennial Act, 1716.

The Septennial Act was passed to avoid an election in such a time of excitement. It extended the duration of the House of Commons from three years to seven. This was a daring assertion of parliamentary authority, for if any Parliament by its mere vote can prolong its duration for four years, it can equally well prolong it for ever. Public opinion alone can restrain it, and public opinion has always proved sufficient. The Septennial Act however brings home to us, in a striking way, the position which Parliament had gained in the English Constitution. It had become unmistakably the supreme legislative power in the State. The Peerage Bill has already been mentioned.

d, Peerage Bill, 1719.

Generally speaking, however, the Whigs were wise enough to avoid any energetic measures which might rouse opposition or give opportunity for criticism of themselves. As Walpole said a little later, it was wiser to "let sleeping dogs lie."

IV. "The rule of Expediency."

a, growth of indifference at home.

Thus while no burning questions were raised, the mass of the country sank into a state of lethargy and indifference, not only to politics, but to everything else except money-making. Religion, morality, art, literature, all sank to sleep under the rule of the Whigs.

b, "Balance of Power" abroad.

Self-interest was the only powerful motive of the eighteenth century. In foreign politics the avowed principle was the maintenance of the balance of power, but that the real motive was self-interest is plainly shown by the disregard for the rights of nationalities which were too weak to defend themselves. Powerful States who loudly proclaimed their zeal for the common welfare did not hesitate to enrich themselves, when opportunity offered, at the expense of their weaker neighbours. "They cut and pare States," said Alberoni, "as if they were Dutch cheeses." Silesia was boldly seized by Frederick the Great, and Poland was partitioned bodily

c Disregard of rights of Nationalities.

between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The War of the Spanish Succession had, for the time, weakened all States, but as they recovered, the old struggles recommenced on every opportunity.

Another aspect of the same thing is shown in the development of commerce and colonial enterprise. There began a great race for wealth. Commercial jealousy among nations, especially between England and France (and Spain), underlay most of the difficulties which arose. The quarrel was fought out definitely in North America and India, but it influenced all international relations. Frederick the Great rightly complained that the rivalry of France and England ruled the politics of Europe. Whatever or wherever the disturbance, England and France are found taking opposite sides. From 1688 to 1815 we fought a "second Hundred Years War" with France, and its cause was mainly commercial.

d, Commercial rivalry.

During George I.'s reign there was a lull in hostilities. The rivals desired rest, each in order to recover and each to ward off a Pretender.

V. Alliance with France through common interests.

In Anne's reign the Whigs had been the advocates of war; it was now to their interests to advocate peace. The old war leaders had disappeared; the politicians were dead; Marlborough was incapacitated. In France the place of the dangerous and ambitious Louis XIV. was taken by a sickly child, Louis XV., and the Duke of Orleans, his uncle and regent, hoped by keeping on good terms with England to succeed to the throne. He feared that Philip V. of Spain, Louis XIV.'s grandson, who was the nearest heir, would disregard the promise he had made in the Treaty of Utrecht to abandon all right of succession in France. But Orleans knew England could tolerate a union of France and Spain no more under the rule of Whigs than it had done in Anne's reign under the Tories. A triple alliance of England, France, and Holland was arranged, by which Orleans promised to abandon the Pretender and England promised to support the exclusion of Philip V. from France.

(Green 726.)

Spain however had an able Minister in Alberoni and an ambitious Queen in Elizabeth Farnese, "the Termagant of Spain," and for some time was a source of danger. Alberoni increased Spain's efficiency, and formed an alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden, who threatened Hanover. The Whigs were lukewarm about measures for its defence, whilst they grudged the money which the King squandered on his Hanoverian hangers-on in England. The two most prominent in this attitude, Lord Townshend and Robert Walpole, had to retire.

Treaties of Westminster, 1716.

(*Balance of Power*, ch. ii. iii.)
(Armstrong *Eliz. Farnese*.)

Sunderland and Stanhope became leaders.

In 1718 they arranged a quadruple alliance of England,

Opposition to Spanish aggression.

France, Holland, and Austria against Spanish aggression. Austria was an old ally of England—for instance, in the War of the Spanish Succession—but alliance with her now brought us, or rather Hanover, into danger from Prussia which, under the military genius of Frederick the Great, was rising into the position of a great German State ready to challenge the supremacy of Austria in the Empire.

(Lecky I, 290-306.)

1718.

When Alberoni set about reconquering the Italian territories of which the Treaty of Utrecht had deprived Spain, the allies interfered. The Spanish fleet was destroyed by Admiral Byng off Cape Passaro, and when Alberoni tried to land troops in Scotland to help the Jacobites the allies forced Philip to dismiss his Minister. England had rest for 12 years.

VI. Rise of Walpole
(1676—1745).

(Lecky I, 316-324.)

At home Sunderland and Stanhope had not, as yet, quite learned the lesson of non-interference. Their repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act in favour of their supporters the Dissenters, caused little notice; but when they proposed to repeal the Test Act and to pass the Peerage Bill, Walpole saw that much dangerous feeling would be aroused. He opposed both measures with such power that he had to be re-admitted to the Ministry with increased influence.

"South Sea Bubble"
1720.

He had long been gradually growing in importance, but it was the "South Sea Bubble" which definitely placed him in a position of supremacy.

(Macaulay's *Essays*,
291.

Morley's *Walpole*, 63
Lecky I, 371.)

The South Sea Company had a monopoly of trade with Spanish South America, where untold wealth was supposed to be stored. Ministers encouraged this idea by becoming large shareholders, and also by trying to pay off the National Debt by allowing Government Stock to be exchanged for shares in the Company. The result was that the price of the Company's shares rose out of all proportion to their real value. In reality, the trade with South America was much restricted. It also transpired that Ministers had not paid for their shares, but had received them as bribes in return for political favours. When this was discovered, prices fell rapidly, a panic set in, and the "bubble" burst. The mischief was increased by the many bogus companies which the passion for speculation had called into being, and a general financial crisis was the result. Many were ruined; but Walpole's financial genius came to the rescue, and he managed to arrange affairs so that a certain proportion of the money was saved.

The Stanhope group of Whigs had already (1) roused discontent, even in their own party, by their monopolization of office. They were (2) generally unpopular through their supposed Hanoverian sympathies: (in 1716 they had relieved the King of the irksome restrictions on his visits to Hanover which the Act of Settlement imposed) and (3) their whole

foreign policy was supposed to be contrary to Whig traditions. When to all this was added (4) the discredit they acquired by their dealings with the South Sea speculators, they found it impossible to maintain their power, and Walpole became practically head of the Government. He held this position for 21 years (1721—42).

He was a typical Whig, careless of all refinements, and with low and vulgar tastes. Indifferent to morality, he was possessed nevertheless of robust common-sense and a thorough perception of the needs of the day. Stubborn and self-confident, he never wavered in his determination to avoid all subjects which might arouse passion and opposition, whether at home or abroad.

This character of moderation is soon seen in all parts of his work. At home he perceived that there were two ways in which an Englishman can assuredly be roused. The difficulties of the Stuarts had been largely caused by their failure to understand this; but Walpole knew that so long as no demands were made on people's pockets or their principles, they would be indifferent to politics. They only asked that Government should be carried on tolerably well, and they did not care particularly how or by whom. Walpole was skilled in finance. Moreover he used bribery to secure his majorities at the polls, and practised unblushing corruption, in and out of Parliament, to maintain himself in power. There was nothing new or unusual in this, and Walpole was quite right when he said, pointing to a section of his opponents, "all these men have their price." But he did the dirty work more effectively than others, and consequently has obtained more discredit than they.

The special dangers which underlay financial and religious subjects, as well as Walpole's method of dealing with difficulties, can be seen by some curious instances.

His policy of moderation and "letting sleeping dogs lie" has already been illustrated by his attitude to the proposed repeal of the Test Act (page 300). (1) He was however indifferent to religion, and was quite ready to give relief so long as it should not be unpopular. Accordingly he gave it by passing each year an Act of Indemnity, which excused defaulters from the penalties they legally incurred. (2) When the Lower House of Convocation, comprising the lower clergy, fell out of harmony with the Upper, where sat the Bishops appointed by the Whigs, and began to grow restive at the indifference, if not worse, of the Bishops, Walpole characteristically made a wilderness and called it peace by quietly refraining from summoning Convocation altogether. It served his purpose of avoiding difficulties, but of course it did incalculable harm to the Church and to religion.

Walpole's character.
(Morley's *Walpole*,
ch. vi.
Green 724, 728.
Macauley's *Essays*.
276.
Lecky 1, 380-436.)

His policy.
a, domestic.

1. His financial
ability.
(Green 731.)
2. Bribery.

(Macauley's *Essays*,
279.
Morley's *Walpole*,
121-126, 131.
Lecky 1, 427-436.)

3. *Quia non movere*
(Green 735.)

Acts of Indemnity.
(Lecky 1, 323.)

Bangorian
Controversy.
(Lecky 1, 310-315.)

(3) The illustration in financial affairs is equally instructive. The work of coining Irish halfpence was given to a man named Wood, who naturally obtained it by bribery. The Irish were only too glad of a grievance, and represented that the coins were below their proper value. This was nonsense. That however did not matter, and Swift rejoiced in being able to use his caustic wit, in "the Drapier's Letters," in ridicule of his old enemies the Whigs and their halfpence. So bitter was the feeling that Walpole withdrew the coins.

In home politics his conduct was throughout of this nature. He had not sufficient enthusiasm even to be vindictive. He had no wish to punish rivals: even Bolingbroke was allowed to return to England. He was content quietly to exclude from power all who might interfere with him. There was no scope for ability in Walpole's Ministry. His tenure of office is marked by no great legislation, and is shared by no great colleagues. His inability to tolerate any equals, and George's inability to take part in politics, whose very language he did not understand, made Walpole leader of the Government in a way no previous statesman had been. The King ceased from exercising his right of veto on Acts of Parliament, and even from attending the meetings of his Cabinet. Walpole was King, and obtained the nickname of "Prime Minister," which has since become the ordinary title of the leader of the Cabinet. It is remarkable that the two most characteristic features of the English Constitution, the Cabinet and the Premiership, both grew up in the face of popular opposition.

Walpole's foreign policy was of course one of peace. This was exactly what the country needed. (1) She required time to recover from the long struggle against Louis XIV., and she desired peace (2) for the sake of her expanding trade. Moreover (3) Jacobite intrigues would have added to the danger of war.

Walpole accordingly began that policy of non-intervention in European politics which was so long the aim of English statesmen. He desired to meddle as little as possible in Continental affairs. Of course it was impossible not to do so altogether; but the interests of Hanover were no longer to be prominent, and the arts of diplomacy, not always too honest, were Walpole's favourite methods.

For some years he succeeded, in alliance with the Regent Orleans (see page 299). But when Ripperda obtained power in Spain, the difficulty of Walpole's policy became greater.

The Emperor Charles VI., so early as 1720, had tried to arrange that on his death all his dominions—Austria, Hungary, Sicily, and Bohemia—should go undivided to his daughter, Maria Theresa. The arrangement was called the "Pragmatic Sanction," and he had obtained the approval of all the States of Europe.

Wood's Halfpence,
1724.
(Stephen's *Swift*,
ch. vii.)

The Drapier's
Letters.

4. Shedding of
Ministers.
(Morley's *Walpole*,
184.
Lecky i, 400.
Macaulay's Essays,
292.)

5. Prime Minister.

b, Walpole's Foreign
Policy.

1. Non-intervention.

(Morley's *Walpole*,
ch. x.
Lecky i, 405.)

2. Diplomacy.
(Morley's *Walpole*,
212.)

3. Alliance with
France.

The Austrian suc-
cession causes
difficulties.

(*Balance of Power*,
ch. vi.)

But Charles Albert, now Elector of Bavaria, had claims, and in 1725 made the Treaty of Vienna with Spain in support of them. England could not avoid being deeply interested. The national sentiment was on the side of the romantic cause of Maria Theresa. Moreover, the Treaty of Vienna was largely prompted by Spain's desire to injure England's commercial rivalry, and it contained undertakings to force back the Stuarts and to deprive England of Gibraltar.

Besides, Austria was an old ally of England and, further, any weakening of Austria would help the rising power of Prussia under Frederick the Great, and thus endanger Hanover.

Carteret and the King favoured active intervention, but this was too energetic for Walpole; hence Carteret's retirement. Walpole's idea was, of course, peace for the moment: the future might take care for itself. An alliance was made with France (and Holland), for Cardinal Fleury, who had succeeded Orleans as Regent of France in 1726, desired a continuance of peace. Ripperda, in Spain, fell into disgrace at the same time. The Emperor Charles VI. also perceived that it would be better to have England for a friend than an enemy in the coming struggle over the Austrian succession, which was now postponed. War was, for the time, averted.

George I. died soon after.

1724.

T. of Hanover, 1725.
(Morley's *Walpole*,
204.)

1727

GEORGE II. 1727—1760.

I. WALPOLE.

- i. *George II.* His title
His character
His wife
- ii. *Walpole supreme*
Shedding of Townshend 1730
and Chesterfield 1733
Supported by Queen
a His financial measures
 1. Freedom of Trade
 2. Land Taxes
 3. Excise Bill 1733
 b Danger from Spain
"Family Compact" alienates France
- iii. *Walpole's decline and fall.* Its causes :
 1. unpopularity of his Foreign Policy
 2. Death of Queen 1737
 3. Porteous Riots 1736
 4. Revival of criticism : the Press
 5. Colonial interests
 6. Formation of a Parliamentary 'opposition' comprising
 - a Prince of Wales
 - b ejected Ministers
 - c "Patriots"
 7. Outbreak of the "War of Jenkins' Ears"
- iv. *Walpole's work*
 1. Dynastic : Settlement of Hanoverians
 2. Constitutional
 - (1) Prime Minister
 - (2) Cabinet
 - (3) increase in power of Parliament
(cessation of Impeachments)

i. *George II.* The new King was the son of George I. He was not without some good qualities and he had physical courage. He was sober and methodical, but his ability was commonplace and his judgment poor. He was accustomed to rely on the Queen's advice. Caroline of Anspach (died 1737) was able and shrewd, patient and persevering, and loyal in support of her mediocre husband and his faithful Minister.

She at once perceived Walpole's value, and his power continued for 15 years longer.

ii. *Walpole supreme.*
Shedding of
Townshend

Townshend soon had to retire. He held to the old doctrine that, as Secretary of State, he was answerable to King and Parliament. But Walpole's own words state the Prime Minister's view of the case : "As long as the firm was Townshend and Walpole, the utmost harmony prevailed ; but no sooner was it Walpole and Townshend than things went wrong." In 1730 Townshend retired from public life, and devoted his talents to the cultivation of turnips, with real service to the

community, for now farmers could maintain their cattle during the winter, instead of killing them and salting the beef as each Michaelmas came round. Chesterfield retired in 1733.

The Queen's support was valuable to Walpole for by his continual shedding of colleagues he created a body of discontented Whigs, headed by Carteret and Pulteney, who often made common cause with the Tory remnant led by Bolingbroke.

and Chesterfield.
Support of Queen.
(Morley's *Walpole*,
96-99.)

It was a long time before the Opposition met with any success. Walpole was careful to give them no opening. Once, however, he did so. He was skilled in finance, and saw that for England's growing trade there should be as few restrictions as possible. He therefore made some advances towards Free Trade. He tried to develop indirect taxation so as to diminish taxes on land, and thus to ingratiate himself with the landed gentry.

a, His Financial
measures.

1. Freedom of Trade
2. Land Taxes.

But he perceived that the revenue arising from customs might be much increased if smuggling could be stopped. He therefore proposed to stop it by substituting for the Customs duty, paid when goods were brought into the country, an Excise payable when the goods were sold. There would thus be no reason for smuggling since all goods would come into the country free. Moreover, as goods thus imported freely might similarly be exported freely, and as English ships had most of the carrying trade, England would become the emporium of the trade of the world.

3. Excise Bill, 1733
(Morley's *Walpole*,
169-179.)
(Lecky i. 387, 401.)

He began with tobacco and wine; but his enemies found popular prejudice ready to their hand. They represented that Walpole was destroying independence and privacy, and that every house would be liable to be searched for excisable goods at any hour. An Englishman's house would no longer be his castle; it was as bad as the Inquisition. Passion ran so high that even the Army was infected. Walpole, of course, withdrew the wise though inexpedient measure. "I will not be the Minister," he said, "to enforce taxes at the price of blood."

Walpole steadily upheld the alliance with France. He was, of course, accused of departing from Whig traditions. William III. and the earlier Whigs had tried to check France by vigorous opposition; Walpole tried to do it by diplomacy. The danger now was lest France should be attracted by the prospect of regaining her influence in Europe by alliance with ambitious Spain; and it was, of course, not unnatural for the two branches of the House of Bourbon to act together to undo the Treaty of Utrecht.

b, Danger from
Spain
Morley's *Walpole*,
201, 205.)

"Family compact."

Walpole made treaties with both these Powers and the Emperor, by which he obtained the withdrawal of the articles in the Treaty of Vienna which were injurious to English trade,

1729-31.

T

at the price of guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction (page 302). But he had no real sympathy with the cause of Maria Theresa, which, indeed, he despised as a matter of sentiment.

France and Spain, whose (1) Kings were both Bourbons, drew ever nearer together. They saw (2) that they might exercise great power in Continental politics by common action. (3) Moreover, the influence of the Duke of Orleans was removed in 1729. Hitherto he and Philip V. of Spain had been rival heirs to the French throne, and he hoped to secure the succession by help of England's friendship. But (4) the birth of the Dauphin in that year was sure to change the friendship between England and France, which was of recent origin, into (5) the old hostility which was the traditional policy of both countries.

The Bourbon "Family Compact," directed against Austria and England, was the result. The birth of the Dauphin had removed the fear that Philip V. might grasp the French throne; and (6) France, having recovered her military strength, was not disinclined to avenge the victories of William III. and Marlborough. Spain (7) always resented England's commercial rivalry in South America, and the loss of Gibraltar rankled.

In the War of the Polish Succession (1733—35) the two Bourbons appeared united against the candidate favoured by Austria. Walpole's efforts were directed solely in the interests of peace. George II. would gladly have given help for the sake of retaining Austria's goodwill towards Hanover. The general sentiment was on the same side, through traditional hostility towards France and commercial rivalry with Spain. Walpole's position was thus considerably weakened, and he also lost his great supporter, Queen Caroline, by death in 1737.

Walpole's position was further weakened by the Porteous Riots. Two smugglers who had escaped from prison in Edinburgh became popular heroes, and when one was executed the guard was attacked. In self-defence Captain Porteous ordered his men to fire on the mob, with fatal result. The local jury condemned him to death for murder, and all Edinburgh took his reprieve as a national insult, and hanged him by lynch law. English opinion was equally aroused and demanded extreme measures; but Walpole followed the line of least resistance, and imposed only trivial penalties. This gained him no gratitude in Scotland, and caused indignation in England.

His influence began to wane. The danger from Jacobitism having passed, criticism of the Government could now make itself heard without being open to the charge of disloyalty. The Press began to be active; Bolingbroke's ready wit wrote scathing articles in the "Craftsman"; and the "Gentleman's Magazine" began to publish Parliamentary news. When Parliament forbade this, the accounts of debates were

III. Walpole's decline and fall.

Its causes:

1. Unpopularity of his Foreign policy. (*Balance of Power*, ch. iv.) (Morley's *Walpole*, 99.)

2. Death of the Queen, 1737.

3. Porteous Riots, 1736. (Morley's *Walpole*, 188-192.)

4. Revival of Criticism: the Press. (Morley's *Walpole*, 78-84.)

continued under the disguise of "News from Lilliput," and other transparent devices. Such attempts to crush free criticism were wholly mischievous. Dr. Johnson did not hesitate to own that, in his reports, he took care that the "Whig dogs should not have the best of the arguments."

(May ii, 36.
Green 775.)

But it was commerce, which the policy of peace was intended especially to help, which drew Walpole into war, and ruined him. English merchants energetically pushed their trade in Spanish South America, to the injury of Spain itself. The Treaty of Utrecht had limited English enterprise to one vessel per year, but the restriction was continually evaded. There were constant complaints of English smugglers, and reprisals took place on both sides. The Spanish right to search was eagerly resented, and often brutally exercised. The bad feeling between the two nations was increased by the Spanish assertions that the new English colony of Georgia (1733) encroached on the territory of Florida.

5. Colonial interests

(Green 733.
Balance of Power,
91.)

Walpole tried the peaceful methods of diplomacy, but many things helped to make his work difficult; some have been mentioned. The Prince of Wales, Frederick, had quarrelled with his father, and threw himself into the scale against his father's Government. There were plenty of discontented Whigs with a grudge against the Minister who had ousted them from their share of the spoils of power. Moreover, Walpole's unblushing corruption had raised disgust in some of the young men, such as William Pitt, who yearned for higher aims than mere expediency and for a higher standard of political morality. They called themselves "patriots." Walpole sneered at them as "boys," and thought it would be easy to muzzle "this cornet of horse," Pitt. Pitt's undaunted courage and magnificent oratory thus early began to influence all who fell beneath his spell.

6. Formation of an
'opposition.'

a, Pr. of Wales.
(Morley's *Walpole*,
193.)

b, ejected Ministers.

c, "Patriots."
(Lecky i, 444.)

A grotesque incident at last supplied the spark which fired the long smouldering fuel into such a blaze as to destroy the all-powerful Minister.

In 1739 a certain Captain Jenkins appeared in England with the story that his ears had been clipped by the Spanish coastguards. Before an indignant House of Commons, and up and down the country before infuriated audiences, he produced the ears wrapped in cotton wool, explaining that on suffering the indignity he commended his soul to his God and his cause to his country! The story was exactly one to appeal to passion and ignorance, and no one remembered that the man was a smuggler who was breaking an international agreement. The story was received with such fury throughout the country that Walpole had to give way, and declare war.

7. Outbreak of war.

'Jenkin's ears.'
(Morley's *Walpole*,
214-218.
Lecky i, 451.)

The joy-bells which greeted the news rang the knell of Walpole's power. He knew the war was foolish, and would

spread far beyond the shores of South America. "They are ringing their bells now," he said, "they will soon be wringing their hands." One product of the war fever of the time still remains in the song "Rule Britannia."

Early successes—such as Admiral Anson's captures of treasure ships on a voyage in which he sailed round the globe, and Admiral Vernon's seizure of Porto Bello—were followed by failures. The blame fell on Walpole who, no doubt, did not prosecute the war with overmuch vigour, in the hope of speedily concluding peace. His influence in Parliament declined. In the General Election his supporters often failed to be elected, and Scotland almost unanimously voted against him. In the new Parliament he was at last defeated on a trifling matter, the Chippenham election petition, and in 1742 resigned the power he had held for 21 years.

IV. His work.

1. Dynastic.
(Morley's *Walpole*,
65.)

2. Constitutional.
(Morley's *Walpole*,
157-160.)
(Morley's *Walpole*,
ch. vii.)

(Morley's *Walpole*,
143, 156.)

His work had been great. By settling the Hanoverian family on the throne, he had removed the question of the succession from the sphere of politics, and had thus undoubtedly freed politics from much bitterness. Perhaps he had averted a civil war.

He had given the Constitution definiteness and consolidation. (1) He had created the office of Prime Minister, who took the place of the King as head of the Ministers of State; (2) he had established the principle that the Cabinet must have a common basis in general policy; and, (3) by resigning as he did, he showed that no Minister could retain office unless he had the support of Parliament as well as of the King. It was the gradual recognition of this fact which made impeachments for political offences needless.

No feelings of gratitude were available for the Minister who had done more than any man to weaken public honour. He had no friends. He had alienated all his political allies, and even the commercial classes were exasperated with his lukewarmness in prosecuting the popular war. A policy of peace can never beget enthusiasm, and Walpole's had required friendship with England's traditional foe; it could only justify itself by its success, and it had failed at last.

2. THE PELHAM ADMINISTRATION.

i. *War of the Austrian Succession 1740—48*

1. Causes :

a Maria Theresa and the Imperial Throne

(1) her difficulties in Austria

(2) her difficulties abroad

b French ambition

c Prussian expansion

d Spain's "Compact" with France and quarrel with England

2. Carteret's policy of active intervention (b. of Dettingen 1743)
 - its failure, due to
 - a Newcastle's jealousy
 - b Carteret's indifference to Parliament
 - c French intrigues with Prussia
 - d French alliance with Spain
- ii. *Pelham's "Broad-bottomed Administration"*
 - its principles
 - its Foreign Policy (b. of Fontenoy 1745)
- iii. *Jacobite Rising of 1745*
 - a its prospects of success
 - Early successes—Edinburgh, Prestonpans, March to Derby
 - b Causes of failure
 1. absence of discipline
 2. decay of Jacobitism in England
 3. want of French support
 - c The Retreat (Falkirk, Culloden)
 - d Butchery of rebels and disarmament of the Clans
- iv. *Pitt and Newcastle*
 - a. Pitt's value
 - b. George II.'s opposition fails
 - c. Constitutional significance of the Crisis
- v. *End of the War : Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748*
 - a. its Terms
 - b. its defects
- vi. *Domestic concerns*
 - a. Economies
 - b. Reform of the Kalendar 1751
 - c. Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act 1753

The "War of Jenkins' Ears" had widened, as Walpole had foreseen, even before his fall. It soon drew into its scope all the great States of Europe.

Maria Theresa, after the death of her father, the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, speedily found herself in difficulties. (a) A woman on the Imperial Throne was a novelty by no means welcome in all her dominions. Few even of her subjects were enthusiastic except her own Hungarians, who swore in their Diet with drawn swords :—"Moriatur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa." (b) The promises of diplomatists meant but little :—

- (i.) Charles Albert, Archduke of Bavaria, promptly claimed Bohemia and Austria, and obtained his election as Emperor in 1742.
- (ii.) France supported him, with the idea of weakening Germany by helping forward its subdivision.
- (iii.) Frederick the Great took the opportunity of strengthening Prussia at the expense of its rival, by seizing Silesia.
- (iv.) The "Family Compact" as well as her quarrel with England inevitably drew Spain also into the circle.

The peace which Walpole had secured by the Treaty of Hanover could not last ; it was the merest truce. Carteret,

i. War of the Austrian Succession.
(*Balance of Power*, ch. vi, vii.)

- i. Causes:
 - a, Maria Theresa.
 - (1) her difficulties in Austria.
 - (2) her difficulties abroad.

b, French ambition.
c, Prussian expansion.
(*Macaulay's Essays*, 792-801.
Balance of Power, ch. vi.
Longman 30-53.
Lecky i, 459.)
d, Spain's 'compact' with France and quarrel with England.

2. Carteret's policy of active intervention. who became Secretary of State and leading Minister, though by no means "Prime Minister" as Walpole had been, proposed as before (page 303) active interference. His knowledge of continental politics was profound, and his idea was to unite all Germany against France and the family compact. He advised Maria Theresa to yield Silesia, which indeed she could not hold, to Frederick the Great as a bribe to gain him to her side; he gave her considerable subsidies, and sent troops into Germany to fight on her behalf. These won a victory at Dettingen, where George II.—last of English Kings to fight in battle—fought with bravery and effect; and the French invasion of Germany, in support of Charles, was rolled back.

(Green 741.
Macaulay's *Essays*,
284-299.
Lecky ii, 12-15.)

Dettingen, 1743.

Its failure: due to

a. Newcastle's jealousy.

b. Carteret's indifference to Parliament.

c. French intrigues with Prussia.

d. French alliance with Spain.

(Longman 75.)
(Ballantyne,
Carteret.)

II. Pelham's "Broad-bottomed Administration."

(Green 742.
Macaulay's *Essays*,
299)

its principles.

its Foreign policy.

Fontenoy, 1745.

In England, both nation and King approved, as before, of Carteret's policy (see page 303); but the jealousy of Newcastle—who was as ignorant and incompetent as he was greedy of power, and who revelled in the bribery and patronage which Carteret disdained—ruined him. His great plan of a united Germany in opposition to France broke down for Frederick allied himself with Louis XV.; and France joined Spain in active war against England. In spite of the King's support, Carteret—like Walpole in 1742—being out of favour with Parliament, had to resign. He was one of the brilliant failures of the Eighteenth Century.

Newcastle's younger brother, Henry Pelham, succeeded him; and from 1744 till 1787 the ascendancy of the Pelhams was supreme. They maintained themselves in power by means similar to, though diverse from, those of Walpole. "The Broad-bottomed Ministry," as it was called, well deserved its name. Walpole had been supreme by "*shedding*" all rivals: the Pelham plan was to *include* all. The basis upon which the principles of the Pelhams rested was so broad that it could be widened indefinitely to include all who might become opponents; but the breadth thus gained was at the expense of depth. The ideas of the Ministry were shallow and superficial, and the only trace of a foreign policy was the scattering of subsidies on German princes to keep them in the field against France.

A British force, indeed, went to the Netherlands to join the allies against the French, under Marshal Saxe; and, though they fought well, the Battle of Fontenoy was a defeat. The frontier towns again fell into the hands of France; and the success of his patron encouraged Prince Charles Edward, son of the old Pretender, to make an attempt to gain the throne of his ancestors.

III. Jacobite rising of 1745.

(Green 743.
Lecky ii, 28.)

Lang, *Charles Stuart*
Terry *Rising of 1745*;

a. its prospects of success.

The moment was opportune. The war pressed heavily on England. France might be expected to help a project which, if successful, might have ranged England on her side. The Broad-bottomed Ministry was incapable. There was no one of worth at the head of the English Army.

Charles Edward himself was a gallant and persuasive youth, dauntless in bearing, and chivalrous in nature. Unexpected by friends and enemies alike, and with only seven followers, he landed at Moidart. His infectious enthusiasm speedily gathered scores of patriotic Scotsmen round him. Sir John Cope, who was dispatched to check him, was devoid of capacity and Charles Edward easily entered Edinburgh, and swept away Cope's feeble opposition at Prestonpans. Success brought in many waverers; and six thousand Highlanders marched gleefully across the border, down the western route. England was terrified, and the day they entered Derby was afterwards known as "Black Friday."

Early successes.

Edinburgh.
Prestonpans.

March to Derby.

But they were ill-armed, and unused to discipline; their wild appearance and plundering habits offended the English as they passed along; and they found, too, that there was no practical zeal for the old cause. Jacobitism might remain as a sentiment, but English trade had prospered too well under the Hanoverians for many to be willing to risk their necks for a cause which had long passed out of the region of practical politics. Consequently, though there was little active opposition, there was no active support; the attempt to galvanize Jacobitism into life came many years too late. The French supports were diverted to aid an attempt on the Austrian Netherlands.

b, Causes of failure.

1. absence of discipline.

2. decay of Jacobitism in England.

3. Want of French support.

At Derby the Scots realised their position. After a moment's hesitation, courage forsook them, and they turned back. From that moment all was lost. Those who had wavered before, when the result was doubtful, now openly attacked them. A gleam of success at Falkirk brightened the last days of the dying cause; but at Culloden Moor the Duke of Cumberland killed it with a relentless cruelty which gained for him the well-merited name of "Butcher."

c, The Retreat.

Falkirk
Culloden.

The deluded Highlanders were followed into their hiding-places with savage persistency, and Charles Edward himself became a fugitive with a price upon his head. Not the poorest Highlander was mean enough to betray him; and the courage of Flora Macdonald, in particular, has made her the heroine of "the '45." At length he succeeded in escaping to France. The hopelessness of his position drove him to drunkenness, and he died in 1788. In Scotland the clans were disarmed, and their power destroyed. Jacobitism survived as a romantic sentiment only.

d, "Butchery" of rebels.

and disarming
of Clans.

The panic in England had helped to bring William Pitt into power. His capacity, zeal and enthusiasm, and his open denunciation of the King's immoralities and partiality for Hanover, made him hated by George II., and his high sense of political honour was distasteful to the Pelhams. But his abilities were too valuable to be exercised in opposition; and,

iv. Pitt and Newcastle.

a, Pitt's value.
(1708-1778).
b, Geo. II's opposition falls.

in pursuance of their usual plan, they insisted on calling him to their side. George II. made a vain attempt to form another Ministry, but failed ignominiously. The King discovered that, although he reigned now without a rival, he governed less than ever. The doctrine that the Ministry, if it had the support of Parliament, was independent of the King, was still further strengthened (see p. 308).

, Constitutional significance of the crisis.

V. End of the War.

The War of the Austrian Succession continued on the Continent. To their successes in Holland the French added the capture of Madras, in India; and there were rumours of conflicts between English and French colonists in North America. But these, as yet, attracted little notice. In Italy the French were checked, and English supremacy at sea was vindicated by a victory off Cape Ushant. At last a general peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

T. of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748.

(Green 744.

Longman 53.

Lecky II, 37.

Balance of Power,

199-207.)

a, its terms.

b, its defects.

(1) All conquests were to be restored, and the (2) French finally abandoned the cause of the Stuarts. (3) Maria Theresa had to be content with a recognition of her husband, Francis I., as Emperor; but (4) Frederick kept Silesia.

Such a settlement was a mere truce; indeed, so far as England and France were concerned, it was not even that. The design of dismembering Austria had failed, on the whole; but no vexed question was settled. International enmities had, indeed, been increased. (1) The rivalry between England and France continued with ever-increasing bitterness in America and India (ps. 317, 319) (2) Austria, disgusted at England's policy—which had deprived her of Silesia—began to look for more effective allies. France, while weakening one rival, had (3) helped to lay the foundation of another; Prussia was to be far more dangerous to her than Austria had ever been; and the increasing power of Prussia was to affect profoundly the future course of the history of the whole of Europe. England had embarked on the policy of self-seeking which was to leave her isolated and friendless.

"The Diplomatic Revolution."

VI. Domestic concerns.

1. Economies.

2. Kalendar reformed, 1751.

In the brief interval of peace which followed (1748—54) a few harmless necessary measures were taken. Economy dictated a reduction in the Army and Navy, and commercial prosperity enabled the rate of interest on the National Debt to be lowered. The kalendar was reformed and brought into line with that of the rest of civilized nations. By a trifling error in the calculations of Julius Cæsar, the difference in 1700 between the true time and the time according to the "old style" of the Julian Kalendar amounted to eleven days. Pope Gregory XIII. had set it right so long ago as 1582, and in Europe generally his amendment had been adopted a long time; but English Protestantism—ignorant and unreasoning—had smelt Popery in the Gregorian Kalendar. Even now the proposal to bring England into line with other nations, by

calling the 3rd of September the 14th, roused bitter denunciation. Sturdy Protestants clamoured, "Give us back our eleven days." January 1st instead of Lady Day was henceforth to be New Year's Day.

Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act was directed against secret and irregular marriages—such as those at the Fleet Prison and Gretna Green. Dissenters found a legitimate grievance in the limitation of the power to perform the marriage service to the clergy only. Of course the Whigs had no desire to displease the Dissenters; they gave the power to the clergy, not from any regard for their office, for they were indifferent to religious feelings of any kind, but merely because they looked on them as convenient State officials.

Henry Pelham died next year.

3. Marriage reforms.
(Lecky II, 115-125.)
1753.

1754.

3. THE SEVEN YEARS WAR, 1756—1763.

i. *Outbreak of War.*

1. Causes :

- a Rivalry of England and France for Colonial Supremacy
- b Rivalry of Austria and Prussia for German Supremacy
2. Early disasters under Newcastle, in Europe, India, and America
Fall of Newcastle and Declaration of War 1756
3. England and France
 - a Advantages of England
 - b Disadvantages of France
 - c Government confusion in England
4. Pitt supreme
 - a Support of commercial classes.
 - b his own talents.
 - c Parliament's support through
 - d Newcastle's influence.
 - e Pitt's vigorous policy
 - f His statesmanship
 - g His high principles.
5. Pitt's measures
 - a Europe
 - b America and India

Chronological Table of the Seven Years War

ii. *Colonial Rivalry between France and England*

a *In North America.*

1. The geographical situation
2. French successful at first
3. Irregular Reprisals and outbreak of war
 - a French successful at first
 - b Change wrought by Pitt
 - c His plan for Conquest of Canada. Capture of Quebec. Conquest of Canada
 - d Supremacy of England

b *In India*

1. The geographical situation
2. The Political situation
 - a Decline of Mogul Empire
 - b Rise of Mahrattas
 - c General confusion

3. Rivalry of England and France

- a French successful at first—importance of Dupleix—sources of weakness
- b Rivalry develops —French power at its height
- c English successes through Clive
 - 1. in South East
 - 2. in North East
 - 3. Fall of Dupleix
 - 4. End of French power in India

iii. *End of the Seven Years War*

- 1. Accession of George iii. Fall of Pitt
- 2. Treaty of Paris 1763
- 3. Treaty of Hubertsburg
- 4. Effects of the War
 - a France
 - b England
 - c American Colonies
 - d Prussia.

i.—OUTBREAK OF WAR.

1. Causes :

- a. rivalry of Eng. and France for Colonial supremacy.
- (cf. *Exp. of Eng.*)

It has been pointed out that the real cause which underlay our struggles with France in the "Second Hundred years War" throughout the Eighteenth Century (see p. 299) was commercial rivalry : was England or France to be the chief trading nation of the world ?

The long rivalry was now to appear in its true colours. The question was to be fought out definitely and unmistakably at last.

(1748).

Both in North America and in India colonial enterprise had brought the two nations face to face (see p. 312), and during the years of pretended peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle quarrels, often resulting in bloodshed, had been going on continuously in those distant lands. A state of war existed in all but name long before war was formally declared.

- b, rivalry of Austria and Prussia for German supremacy.

T. of Versailles, 1756.

The truce was now beginning to wear itself out in all quarters. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia developed, and Maria Theresa in 1756 succeeded, by working on the evident danger to France of Prussia's growth in power, in obtaining French help towards recovering Silesia.

Convention of Westminster, 1756.

Frederick meanwhile, working on a similar fear in England with regard to Hanover, and aided by the colonial rivalry so long existing, allied himself with England.

- 2. Early disasters under Newcastle, in Europe, India, and America.

While Newcastle hesitated, fearing for Hanover, the French precipitated matters by capturing Minorca from England. The island was not only (a) commercially valuable, but its loss (b) deprived England of her supremacy in the Mediterranean. About the same time came news of the tragedy in the "Black Hole of Calcutta," and of the defeat in America at Fort Duquesne.

England was fully roused. Some demanded that Newcastle

should be sent to the block, others that Admiral (John) Byng, who had failed to relieve Minorca, should be hanged at the yard-arm.

Byng was executed as a scapegoat for Newcastle, who resigned, and the Seven Years War began. It was fought in all parts of the world—on the Continent of Europe, at sea, in North America, in India. With the first we shall be more slightly concerned than with the others, where England was so directly interested.

England of course had one great advantage over her rival from the first : she was concerned only about her Colonies and her supremacy at sea. She devoted her own energies to these, and paid Prussia, by large subsidies, to do the fighting on land.

France, on the contrary, had not only Colonies to defend but a land frontier as well, and one, moreover, which was directly endangered by the rise of Prussia. She was compelled therefore to divide her strength and to spread her forces over an area which was as wide as the world itself.

At the beginning of the war Pitt was the leading spirit in the Ministry. But Newcastle's opposition weakened him in Parliament and the King's fears that Hanover would suffer through Pitt's vigour enforced on him a speedy retirement. For three months in the early part of 1757 he was out of office. But the country insisted on his return, and town after town showed its opinion of his worth by presenting him with its "Freedom." "It rained gold boxes" and he had to be recalled.

His experience, however, had taught him that the King and Newcastle were not to be despised. The House of Commons was powerful enough to defy public opinion, which supported Pitt, as it was also, on other occasions (ps. 308, 310, 312), to defy the King. Pitt therefore returned to office, nominally in conjunction with Newcastle. The fact was, as he himself said, that he borrowed Newcastle's majority in Parliament to enable him to carry on the Government. He had the brains and Newcastle the influence. Horace Walpole summed up the situation : "Pitt *does* everything, Newcastle *gives* everything." The result was a strong and united Ministry at last.

The disasters of 1757 had led Frederick and his allies, England among them, to agree to the *Convention of Kloster-Seven* by which they undertook to disband their forces.

The advent of Pitt changed everything. He raised the whole subject, so far as England was concerned, out of the mean channels in which it had hitherto run and placed it in a splendid arena. It was no longer a squabble about German princedoms or the petty rivalry of competing shopkeepers in India or of land-grabbers in America. It became a grand struggle for Continental and Colonial supremacy.

When England realised that she was entering upon a contest

Fall of Newcastle and declaration of war, 1756.

3. England & France
a. Advantages of England.

b. Disadvantages of French.

c. Government confusion in England

4. Pitt supreme.
a. Support of commercial classes.

b. His own talents.
c. Parliament's support through
d. Newcastle's influence.

e. His vigorous policy.
:757.

(*Lacey ii*, 381. 438.)
(*Macaulay's Essays*, 310-312.)

f. His statesmanship.

g. His high principles.

5. Pitt's measures:

a. in Europe.
(*Exp. of Eng.* (l.)
ii, vii.
Macaulay, Long-
man, Carlyle—
Fredk. the Gt.
Hassall ix.)

(Mahon's *Sea Power*,
ch. 8.)

b. in America and
India.

with her old rival for the Colonial Empire and the trade of the world she was filled with a new spirit, and the four years which followed Pitt's accession to power in 1757 were perhaps the most splendid in her history. Her soldiers and sailors fought with enthusiasm for the man who looked to merit only, and could place a junior officer like Wolfe in command of a great campaign simply because his talents had proved him to be worthy. Confident in himself and his country, uncorrupt in an age of corruption, eloquent beyond the ordinary, far-seeing, filled with enthusiasm himself and inspiring enthusiasm in others, he deserves the praise his monument in Westminster Abbey gives him: that he exalted Great Britain "to a height of prosperity and glory unknown in any former age."

He immediately repudiated the Convention of Kloster Seven and prosecuted the war with energy. He drew closer the alliance with Frederick the Great and by his subsidies enabled him to carry on a vigorous campaign and thus keep France occupied in Europe.

At sea, his Admirals, Rodney and Blake, defeated the French on every sea. They captured Senegal, Guadaloupe, Dominica, Belleisle, Martinique, Havana and Manila. They destroyed the arsenal at Cherbourg and shattered the French Fleets at Havre, off Ceylon and Lagos, and in Quiberon Bay. They crippled the French at sea, who, thus hopelessly handicapped were bound to lose on land.

Meanwhile he planned a world-wide attack on France. This must be described in detail. The following table will show the inter-connection of the various operations.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

i. Failures everywhere under Newcastle

NAVAL [& CONTINENTAL]	N. AMERICA.	INDIA.
1756 Loss of Minorca	Loss of Ft. Oswego defeat at Ft. Duquesne	Black Hole of Calcutta

ii. Newcastle's opposition weakens Pitt's 1st Administration (3 months)

[Convention of Kloster seven]	
1757 Failure at Rochefort	Failure at Louisburg

iii. Pitt's alliance with Newcastle brings success everywhere

[Repudiation of Klosterseven]		Victory at Plassy
1758 Capture of Senegal	Capt. of Louisburg, C. Breton Island, Ticonderoga, Ft. Duquesne	
Destrn. of Cherbourg		
1759 Capt. of Guadeloupe	The Canada Campaign	Victory at Madras
Victories at Havre, Ceylon, Lagos, Quiberon Bay [Victory at Minden]	Capture of Quebec	

1760	Capture of Montreal (and Canada)	Victory at Wandewash
1761 [Spain joins France] Capture of Dominica and Belleisle		Capt. of Pondicherry
1762 Capture of Martinique, Havana, and Manila		
1763 (T. of Paris)	Spain yields Florida	Fr. withdraws troops.

ii.—COLONIAL RIVALRY BETWEEN FRANCE & ENGLAND.

a. IN NORTH AMERICA.

By the 18th Century England had planted thirteen Colonies along the eastern coast of North America. Behind them ran the Alleghany Mountains, and at each end of the narrow English strip were French territories—Canada in the North and Louisiana in the South. Beyond the Alleghanies were the rich lands of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and further still stretched the boundless plains of the Far West.

The French were the first to perceive the immense possibilities of the rich and fertile continent, and their prospects of obtaining it for their own were exceedingly promising. Their first aim was to obtain control of the highway which joined their Colonies in the North and in the South : this was formed by the series of great lakes in its northern parts and then by the broad streams which ultimately become the Ohio and Mississippi.

Gradually they erected all along this route a string of forts the excellence of whose positions, for military and commercial purposes, is shown by the fact that many of the great towns of America now stand upon them.

As the English colonists began to press westwards of the Alleghanies they inevitably came in contact and conflict with the French, but for a long time the two governments were not involved in what were looked upon as local and irregular reprisals.

But when the Seven Years War broke out the quarrel became a national one on both sides, and both Governments sent troops to aid their distant countrymen.

The French, first in the field, possessed of a definite policy, and consequently better equipped, were not easily opposed. The English arms met with reverses like that which followed General Braddock's attack on Fort Duquesne, which commanded the upper reaches of the Ohio. Badly led, his men were cut to pieces and their leader killed. Montcalm captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario about the same time. In North America, as in the Mediterranean and in India, the prospects of England looked unpromising.

It was Pitt's accession to power which changed the whole situation. He saw the real significance of the struggle, and

(Bradley,
Lecky ii, 229-241.)
1. The Geographical
situation.

2. French successful
at first.

3. Irregular
reprisals.

Outbreak of War.

a. French successful
at first.

b. Change wrought
by Pitt.

instead of occasional attacks on isolated positions he planned a great campaign for the conquest of Canada.

c His plan for conquest of Canada.
(Reich 34.)
Lecky ii, 415-419.

(cf. Longfellow's
Evangeline.)

(Parkman's
Montcalm & Wolfe.)

Capture of Quebec,
1759.

Conquest of Canada,
1760.

Louisburg fell before the continued onslaught of Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst and gave us Cape Breton Island. The adjoining mainland, appropriately called by the French from its beautiful and pastoral character, Acadia, had already been occupied in 1755 and renamed Nova Scotia, its inhabitants being removed with circumstances of strange brutality. In the west, Fort Duquesne was captured and renamed Pittsburg. The way was thus opened for the great campaign. Amherst was to advance from the south by way of Ticonderoga and Lake Champlain. Another force was to advance from the west by way of Fort Niagara. Wolfe was to go from the east. They were to concentrate on Quebec the strong Capital. The southern and western forces captured the places which were to be their bases, but the country was too vast and difficult for them, and Wolfe alone, sailing easily up the S. Lawrence, arrived at Quebec. Its position was exceedingly strong and for a month Wolfe bombarded the heights of Abraham, on which the town is placed, without effect. But Montcalm was lulled by success into a false security. He judged the cliffs impregnable and left them slightly guarded. One night Wolfe made a last desperate attempt. Dropping down the stream with his men in his transports, repeating on the way to his officers as is so well known Gray's recently published *Elegy*, he guided his men up the single steep and narrow pathway which led up the face of the cliff. They could hardly climb in more than single file, but the first arrivals easily overpowered the astonished sentries and when morning dawned Montcalm saw the English army before him. In the battle both generals were killed, but before his death Wolfe had the satisfaction of hearing the glad shouts 'They run, the French run.' His work was done and he had given Canada to the English. He could well say 'I die in peace.'

d, Supremacy of
England,
1763

Amherst had the satisfaction of completing the conquest by taking Montreal, and the French power came to an end in America as also in India (see p. 320). The surrender of the Spanish Colony of Florida in the Treaty of Paris left the English in sole possession of the whole of North America.

b.—INDIA.

1. The Geographical
situation.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to trade in India: the Dutch and the English followed. The Dutch having ousted the Portuguese became the objects of jealousy both to France and England and gradually withdrew to the Spice Islands. Accordingly when the eighteenth century opened France and England were the principal rivals in India as in North America.

As in America too the English Government had hitherto taken no direct share in the expansion of trade. The work had been done by English merchants incorporated (in 1600) in the East India Company. The three chief centres were Madras, (in the Carnatic), on the East Coast, which had been purchased in 1639; Bombay, on the North-West, which had formed part of Catharine of Braganza's dowry in 1662; and Calcutta, the capital of Bengal, on the North-East, which was leased from the Moguls.

The latter half of the Seventeenth Century had seen the breaking up of the Empire of the Moguls, who had dominated the northern portion of India, through (a) the opposition aroused by the persecution of the Hindoos by their Mohammedan rulers, and (b) by the strain imposed by the attempts of Aurungzebe to conquer the Deccan. Under (c) his weak successor the (d) dependent Subahdars made themselves practically independent in their various dominions.

The break-up of the Empire had (e) enabled various Hindoo powers in the first half of the eighteenth century to raise their heads, mostly in the west and centre. Chief of these were the Mahrattas under Sivaji. But (f) he too had weak successors, so that the state of affairs everywhere was favourable to the growth of European influence.

The English settlement at Madras in the Carnatic was near the French settlement at Pondicherry and the French at first were most successful, especially in the district where these places were situated. They had for leader Dupleix who (a) was unscrupulous in his dealings with Asiatics and Europeans alike, and who (b) knew how to take full advantage of the mutual hatred of Mohammedans and Hindoos. It was he, too, who first (c) hit on the plan of utilising native soldiers (Sepoys) to fight his battles, and who (d) showed that Asiatic methods of warfare were powerless against western armaments.

The French consequently, in India, as in America, were the stronger, but they were weakened by (a) jealousy among their generals, especially between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais, and (b) by the inability of French statesmen at home to appreciate the designs of Dupleix.

At first the French made the greater progress. In 1748 they even took Madras, but it had to be restored in consequence of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (see p. 312). During the ensuing period of pretended peace the rivalry between the two nations continued under the disguise of helping rival candidates for native thrones. The French helped one claimant to the throne of the Nizam, as the Subahdar of Deccan was called, and the English another. The French candidate was successful and rewarded Dupleix by making him Governor of the Carnatic. This was the zenith of French power in India.

2. The political situation.

a. Decline of Mogul Empire.

(Macaulay's *Essays*, 506-7.)

b. Rise of Mahrattas.

(Macaulay's *Essays*, 507-8.)

c. General confusion

3. Rivalry of Eng. and French.

(Reich, 35.)

a. French successful at first.

Importance of Dupleix.

(Lecky ii, 366. Macaulay's *Essays*, 508-10.)

Sources of weakness

b. Rivalry develops

French power at its height.

- c. English successes through Clive.
(Wilson's *Clive*,
Macaulay's *Clive*,
Lecky ii, 419-429.)
1. in S.E.

But the English refused to be ousted, and Clive saved the situation by his capture of Arcot, the Capital of the Carnatic. He had copied Dupleix's plan of employing Sepoys, and resembled him in other, and less admirable, ways. The capture of Arcot marks the turning of the tide in favour of English power in India.

2. in N.E.
(Macaulay's *Essays*,
518-527.)

These proceedings in the South-East became known to all the native rulers and filled them with alarm for their independence. The Subahdar of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, in particular became restive. "These hatmen" he said "will soon possess all the sea-board of India." He determined to prevent it. He seized Calcutta. He threw 146 of the leading prisoners into a small cell, with the result that few remained alive next day. Clive grasped the seriousness of the crisis. Transporting his army by sea from Madras he took an ample revenge on Surajah Dowlah. With a small force of 900 Europeans and less than 2,000 Sepoys he utterly defeated 50,000 enemies at Plassy. Surajah Dowlah was deposed and Clive became Governor of Bengal (1758—1760).

- "Black Hole of Calcutta."

- Plassey,
1757.
3. Fall of Dupleix.

In the Carnatic, too, the English arms prospered. Dupleix was withdrawn through the intrigues of men who were jealous of him, and when his successor Lally besieged Madras he was defeated. Next year he suffered another reverse at Wandewash at the hands of General Eyre Coote. With the surrender of Pondicherry, their chief station on the South-East, French power in India came to an end. Clive had changed the English 'pedlars' into rulers of the destinies of India.

1759.
1760.
4. End of French power.
(Macaulay 546)

iii.—END OF THE SEVEN YEARS WAR.

1760.
1. Accession of Geo.
iii.
Fall of Pitt.

Meanwhile in England George III. had succeeded to the throne and great changes began. Pitt was obliged to resign in 1762. When the need for him was past, in consequence of the marvellous success which had everywhere attended his work, petty objects took the place of great designs, and party intrigues supplanted devotion and patriotism.

But his work stood, and the Bourbons had already been hopelessly beaten. They recognised this, and peace was made in 1763.

2. T. of Paris. 1763.
(Reich's *Documents*,
66.)

The *Treaty of Paris* ended the war between England and France. The conquerors reaped the spoils of their victories. They were confirmed in their conquests, and the French agreed to withdraw their troops from India and America. Pondicherry and some other places were restored to them in India, to be merely unfortified factories. Spain paid the penalty of her support of the losers by having to surrender Florida. Frederick the Great, being no longer needed, was quietly abandoned.

3. T. of Hubertsburg

The war between Austria and Prussia was ended by the *Treaty of Hubertsburg*. Each was exhausted. The Treaty there-

fore simply reverted to the state of things which had existed before war broke out. The enormous expenditure of blood and treasure had settled nothing.

The effects of the Seven Years War may be briefly summarised. 4. Effects of the War
(*Lcky iii*, 209,
Hassall, ix.)

- (a) France had been crippled in two continents and had been ruined as a Colonial power. a. France.
- (b) England, on the other hand, (1) had become the first power in Europe, and (2) had won the Colonial Empire of the world. b. England.

But this splendid success was not without serious drawbacks, for (3) now began the dislike and distrust of England which was soon to leave her friendless and isolated. The enormous advantages she had gained, and the over-weening supremacy she had secured, aroused the jealousy and fear of the other states, just as occurred earlier in the case of Louis XIV. and later in the case of Napoleon.

Moreover even her friends had suffered by the selfishness of her policy which had been dictated by her own commercial interests only. Prussia and Austria alike were disgusted.

- 4. In another way too her very success proved harmful. c. American Colonies.
(*Lcky iv*, 1-49.)

- (a) The older Colonies in America, being freed from danger from the French, became more and more unwilling to put up with the commercial restrictions which England laid upon them for her own benefit. It soon appeared that when they no longer needed the protection of the Mother Country the ties that bound them to her were of the weakest. In less than a single generation they were broken. The conquest of Canada was the first step to the founding of the United States, and (b) in the struggle of the Colonists for independence they found no more effective allies than the French. Their late rivals then became their willing friends. Smarting under the recent disgrace in Canada, France readily helped the Colonists against England.

5. She was able to do this the more effectively because England self-confident in her pre-eminence, allowed her Fleet to decline after the Peace. Both France and Spain had learnt, by their defeat, the importance of Sea Power, and immediately set to work to develop their navies. In the next war they were able to hold their own against England much more effectively than in the one which was now concluded.

6. One other point must be noticed. Frederick the Great's success had started Prussia definitely on the upward career which ultimately was to make her chief of the German States. Just as the foundations of the Indian Empire were laid during this war, by the defeat of our French rivals, and the foundations of the United States of America by the conquest of Canada, d. Prussia.

so the foundations of the German Empire were laid by Frederick the Great's successes, which were due in no small part to English assistance (see ps. 314, 315).

GEORGE III, 1760—1820.

I.—REORGANISATION OF PARTIES, 1760—1770.

i. THE NEW KING

- (a) His character and ideas of absolutism due to
 1. His training
 2. 'The Patriot King'
 3. Favourable circumstances—
 - (a) Growing dislike of Whig Oligarchy
 - (b) Popular character of King
- (b) Early effects
 1. Dismissal of Pitt
 2. Ending of the War

ii. BUTE'S MINISTRY, 1761—1763.

- (a) Character
- (b) Continuation of war ; successes
- (c) P. of Paris 1763
- (d) downfall of Bute

iii. GRENVILLE'S MINISTRY, 1763—1765.

- (a) Character of Grenville
- (b) Wilkes and the *North Briton*, No. 45.
- (c) The American Colonies
 1. Political relations
 2. Trade relations
 3. Peace of Paris 1763
 4. Grenville's Policy
 5. Cause of War. The Three Acts : taxation without representation.
 6. Criticism of Policy
- (d) The Regency Bill brings about Grenville's downfall.

iv. 1ST ROCKINGHAM MINISTRY, 1765—1766.

- (a) Burke
- (b) American Policy
- (c) Causes of downfall

v. CHATHAM—GRAFTON MINISTRY, 1766—1770.

- (a) Townshend and the American Duties Act
- (b) Wilkes and the Middlesex Election
- (c) The "Letters of Junius"
- (d) Causes of downfall

George III. was twenty-two years of age when he succeeded his grandfather. In character, training and ideas he had little in common with the preceding Hanoverian Kings. They had been foreigners without sympathy for the country over which they reigned. Their hearts were centred in Hanover, their tastes were continental, their language German, their morals alien to English thought, and their influence on politics slight. But the new King "gloried in the name of Briton." His domestic life was chaste and pure, even to dullness and simplicity. He took an interest in English sports and English

i. The New King.

(Green 761,
Macaulay's *Essays*
94, 744, 750,
Lecky iii, 155-176.

- (a) His character and ideas of absolutism due to

country life to such an extent that he gained the name of "Farmer George." But he was ignorant of men and matters : extraordinarily obstinate, extremely arbitrary. He realised how dependent the former two kings had been on the Whig families, and he determined to re-assert the position of the monarchy.

1. His training.

As in the somewhat similar cases of Richard II. and Charles I., his ideas were due to his upbringing. His mother, the Princess of Saxe-Gotha, had been one of the foremost opponents of the Whig oligarchy which surrounded George II. She had kept her son in seclusion, and had placed his education in the hands of men who would inculcate in him precepts quite alien to doctrines of the Revolution of 1688. She herself had constantly urged the advice "George, be a King." In fact the third ruler of the Hanoverian line came to the throne as a true disciple of the great Tory Bolingbroke, whose creed was embodied in the book he wrote called "*The Patriot King*." In this work the writer pointed out the general corruption existing in Walpole's time, and the consequent lowering of the tone of public life. The remedy he said could only be found in the accession of a Patriot King, whose aims would be identical with those of his people. To ensure the carrying out of these aims, political parties should be over-ridden, court favourites dismissed, ministers in sympathy with the King encouraged and supported, and all opposition even of the people crushed.

2. "The Patriot King."

(Hassall's *Bolingbroke*, 205 9, etc.)

Such were the chief ideas in which George III. had been educated. In many respects they were sound and good. Much harm had been done, many clever administrators and statesmen had been lost, owing to the overwhelming superiority of one party. But George was too narrow-minded and too ignorant to use his political teaching aright, and, in his hatred of the Whigs, he committed every fault against which "*The Patriot King*" inveighed. He certainly, however, aimed at crushing all opposition. He failed during the year 1770 because he could not find the right minister ; he failed again during 1770—1780 because of external difficulties ; he finally succeeded with Pitt, the younger, as a minister in a period of peace.

3. Favourable circumstances.

(a) The growing dislike of Whig oligarchy. (Lecky iii, 176).

On his accession the new king determined to over-throw the Whig party, and assert his personal rule. Circumstances favoured the experiment. "Whiggism had become putrescent in the nostrils of the nation." It was clear that the House of Commons only represented the views of a few great families, who by their influence and wealth had filled Parliament with their own pensioners (p. 297). The unrepresented classes were growing year by year. George II. had said once to Pitt "You have taught me to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons," and his grandson grasped

the lesson. Moreover, as in all great majorities, the various cliques which made up the whole were by their individual claims gradually breaking from and so weakening the Whig party. The Whig House, divided against itself, gave the monarchy a chance of recovering its power. The personal character of George fitted him for the attempt. He was a typical Englishman. His life was blameless, and his obvious honesty and sincerity won him the personal respect of all. Moreover throughout his long reign he invariably represented the feeling of the nation at large on such great questions as the American War, Roman Catholic Relief, and the French Revolution, while his command of patronage and indirect influence readily secured him a majority in Parliament.

With Pitt in power the King could have but little influence, yet so long as war continued Pitt was essential.

The King's first aim therefore was to bring about peace so that he could dismiss Pitt (p. 324). The latter was an easier task than the former. The great war minister had learnt of the new "Family Compact," between France and Spain, and insisted on war being declared against the latter country. This was refused, while at the same time official appointments were made by the King without the sanction or knowledge of the party in power. Pitt resigned, and accepted a pension and a title for his wife. This for a time made him very unpopular for he had figured long as "The Great Commoner," and the opponent of bribery. Newcastle still retained office, but his position was ridiculous as he was never consulted either in matters of patronage or of policy. So, with Grafton and Rockingham, he resigned when further subsidies were refused by the King to Frederick of Prussia.

The whole ministry underwent a change, and all who would not vote for peace, and could not be bought over, were dismissed. To convert the nation open corruption was used. Corporations, Members of Parliament, and many hangers-on, received their payments for their new allegiance. As much as £82,000 was paid away in bribes during the year 1762.

The new chief Minister was Lord Bute. He had been the King's tutor, and was a favourite of the King's mother. He was a strong upholder of the Royal Prerogative. But the fact that he was a Scotsman, and that he was entirely under the influence of the Court, made him personally distrusted and his position difficult. Bute pressed for peace, but was forced to declare war against Spain. British arms were successful in the West Indies, and victories were also won by the allies in Austria and Hanover, so that France and Spain were very ready to treat for peace. In spite of great opposition Bute concluded in 1763 the *Peace of Paris* which has already been described (ps. 320-2).

(b) The popular character of the King.
(Macaulay's *Essays*, 753.)
(Gardiner and Mullinger, 186.)
(Green 765.)

(c) Early effects.
i. Dismissal of Pitt.
(Green 763,
Lecky iii, 197.)
1761.

ii. The ending of the war.

ii. Bute's Ministry
1761-1763.
(Green 763, 766,
Macaulay's *Essays*,
759-66,
Lecky iii, 206-233.)
(a) Character.

(b) Continuation of war. English successes.

(c) The Peace of Paris, 1763.

- (d) Downfall of Bute But though Bute had carried out the King's views, (1) the odium and unpopularity which accrued to him forced his resignation. (2) The majority of the nation felt that Great Britain had not won her deserts in the Peace; (3) they regretted the downfall of Pitt; (4) they objected to an unfair excise tax on cider. (5) The press gave strong expression to the general feeling, and the King had to replace his minister by George Grenville.

- III. Grenville's
Ministry.
1763-1765.
(Lecky iii, 239.)

- (a) Character of
Grenville.

The new Minister was a constitutional lawyer. His Parliamentary knowledge was unrivalled and his honesty undoubted. But his views were narrow and pedantic, and he was not the man for a difficult situation. Yet he did not allow himself to be merely the tool of the King and Court faction. He refused to allow Bute to dictate to him from "behind the Throne," and he so upset the plans of George that the king asked Pitt to return to office. This Pitt refused to do unless he could bring back his party. Grenville was permitted to retain office, and he strengthened his position by including in the Ministry the Duke of Bedford, who possessed great wealth and influence. This coalition was henceforth called The Bedford Ministry.

- (b) Wilkes and
"No. 45."

(May ii, 1-26,
Green 767,
Macaulay's *Essays*,
768,
Lecky iii, 242-257.)

Public opinion though unrepresented in the House of Commons found expression in the Press. In April 1763 John Wilkes, a man of infamous life, but of courage, wit, and resolution, made his first bid for fame. He was the editor of an opposition paper, *The North Briton*, which had won a measure of popularity by its virulent attacks on Bute. In No. 45 he termed the King's Speech, which had spoken of the Peace of Paris as honourable to the Crown and beneficial to the people, as "the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind." To excuse this attack, the writer went on to assert that the Speech was open to criticism as it was not the work of the King, but of his ministers. George was furious at this perfectly correct statement of the constitutional position, whilst Grenville, the real author of the Speech, was equally angry. Lord Halifax issued a *General Warrant*, containing no names, for the arrest of all persons concerned in the issue of No. 45. At the same time under a *Search Warrant* many private papers were seized. Some forty-nine persons were arrested, including Wilkes, who confessed the authorship. He at once became a political martyr and was supported by the opposition. He challenged the legality of his arrest, being a member of Parliament and not accused of treason, felony, or a breach of the peace. He was, in consequence, immediately released from custody.

In the Law Courts Wilkes was again and again successful. It was decided that general warrants and search warrants were illegal, and that the Under-Secretary of State, Lord Halifax, had no power to issue a warrant at all. But though Wilkes

gained some £5,000 in damages, yet he suffered elsewhere. The King dismissed him from the colonelcy of the Buckinghamshire Militia, and his supporter, Lord Temple, was deprived of office. The House of Lords ordered his poems, and an essay on "Woman" to be publicly burned, and petitioned the King to prosecute him for blasphemy. He was challenged to a duel and seriously injured. Whilst still an invalid the House of Commons summoned him to the Bar, and neglecting his plea for postponement declared the privilege of Parliament did not cover a seditious libel. Thus they curtailed their own rights to attack an unpopular member. They then, on the strength of this retrospective vote, expelled him from the House, and a little later he was outlawed for allowing re-issues of No. 45 and the essay on "Woman." But Wilkes was not done with, and later appeared again. Popular opinion was wholly against the Ministers.

(Macaulay's *Essays*, 769.)

They were also preparing for themselves a still fiercer opposition.

In North America there was now a considerable number of separate colonies, and so far from there being any union in their political relations, their dislike to any combination was well-known. In character they were industrial and democratic, like Massachusetts, or slave owning and aristocratic, like Virginia. In government they were of three classes, Royal such as Virginia, Proprietary such as Delaware, and Chartered such as Massachusetts. The rights of the King were never questioned by the colonists, but the interference of the Parliament at Westminster had always been resented. As a matter of fact little notice had ever been taken of the colonies, and they had become practically, though not legally, legislatively independent. Grenville is said to be the first minister who took any notice of the despatches from America. Any interest which England may have taken in them was due to the belief, common to all mother-countries at this time, that the colony existed solely for the benefit of the home-country (ps. 299, 321). In fact the colonies could import nothing except from, and export nothing except to, England, and any colonial manufacture which seemed likely to compete with an English industry was crushed by the Home Government. Yet it is only fair to say England's colonial government cannot be termed in any sense tyrannical. The colonial trade with England was favoured by special rates. There was a large importation into North America of sugar, etc., from the Spanish and French West Indies, in spite of the restrictive laws, for the Home Government openly connived at their evasion.

(c) *The American Colonies*.

(Green 757. Lecky iv, 1-49.)

1. Political Relations

2. Trade Relations.

(Seeley *Exp. of Eng.* viii.)

3. P. of Paris, 1763 (May iii, 338-355.)

The expulsion of France from Canada and of Spain from Florida, left the colonies without rivals or opponents, so that

one strong reason for "loyalty" was removed. The defeat of the French and Spanish had cost much, and England had borne most of the expense: the war had left England a debt of huge size. It was generally felt that the colonists of America, for whom the war had in a great measure been waged, should help to bear the new burden. The principle was sound, but the methods of enforcing it were crude and tactless. The real cause of the loss of the American Colonies, so far as the Mother-Country is concerned, was indifference to the feelings of the Colonists.

4. Grenville's Policy
(Lecky iv. 52-84.)

5) Cause of War.
The Three Acts.

(a) Navigation Act
against smuggling.

It found expression in three Acts passed by Grenville.

1. *Navigation or Trade Act*, 1764. Smuggling was almost the staple trade of the Colonies. Heavy duties were imposed, the revenue officers enforced the laws strictly, and English men-of-war were stationed off the coast to intercept and capture smugglers' boats. The colonists, though they naturally resented the sudden enforcement of laws whose evasion had long been allowed, contented themselves with boycotting English goods.

(b) Standing Armies
Act.

2. *The Standing Armies Act*, 1764, introduced some English regiments. But disunion amongst the colonies themselves prevented them from uniting against this unpopular innovation.

(c) Stamp Act=
taxation without
representation.
(Green 768.)

3. *The Stamp Act*, 1765. This imposed a stamp duty on all legal documents issued in the colonies. The revenue from it would partly pay the expenses of the standing Army. The colonists sagely made this Act the bone of contention. It was the first time England had sought to tax her colonies, and it contradicted the constitutional principle that there should be no taxation without representation.

(d) Criticism of
Policy.

There was much to be urged in favour of Grenville's policy. It was only equitable that America should bear some of the responsibility and burden of taxation for her own defence, and as the Colonies had no central assembly capable of imposing taxes, and would not individually tax themselves for the common benefit, it was left to the Imperial Government to do it. Moreover it was considered by some jurists that England had legally the right. Even Burke, while he condemned the wisdom of the policy, admitted the legality of the tax.

The American colonists contended that there should be no taxation without representation, and that they were responsible to the Crown alone and not to Parliament. Burke in a weighty sentence summed up the best defence of their case, "The question of taxation is less than nothing. The question with me is, not whether you have a *right* to make the people miserable, but whether it is not to your *interest* to make them happy."

But before the storm broke, the ministry had fallen. The king who had supported Grenville against the unpopularity which Wilkes' case had aroused, and who had thoroughly approved of his American policy, now turned against him on a personal question. George had become very ill, and appeared likely to lose his reason. To provide for such a contingency the King on his recovery wished a Regency Bill drawn up. Grenville and his Ministry thought that the inclusion of the King's mother as a possible regent would mean the return of Bute's influence. So they persuaded the King that the Commons were so incensed against his mother, that they would never pass a bill which included her name. To save the Princess-Dowager from any such insult, the King permitted the omission of her name. The absence of it was, however, disliked by the Commons, and her name was inserted by the wish of a large majority. George saw that he had been victimised and dismissed the Ministry.

(d) The Regency Bill 1765, and dismissal of Grenville. (Green 769.)

The King made more than one attempt to persuade Pitt to form a Government, but he refused since he could not combine with Temple, who wished to bring back the old Whig oligarchy. Finally Lord Rockingham, a man of sound common-sense and great wealth, but with no capacity as a leader or as a statesman and no liking for bribery, consented to form a Ministry. Its office could only be temporary. (1) The King disliked them and worked against them. (2) They had no real support in Parliament, (3) and with the exception of one man, they had singularly little ability.

IV. 1st Rockingham Ministry. 1765-1766, (Macaulay's *Essays* 775, Lecky iii, 272.)

That one exception was Edmund Burke, possibly the greatest orator, writer, and statesman of his time. He had come to London some years before to study law. Finding it distasteful, for a time he undertook work for the Press. His learning and grasp was all-embracing, and his power of giving expression to his learning was unrivalled. Whether in writing or in speaking he made his words live. As an orator he has had few equals in the Commons. He raised the dignity and deepened the gravity of the House, for he invested every speech with ideas of unselfishness and singleness of purpose. His own life was in fitting harmony with the loftiness of his thought. He had that true reverence for the past which led him to dislike any tinkering with constitutions or social order. A passionate love of justice led him to attack Warren Hastings. A deep insight into the causes of the growth of communities and states led him to sympathise with the American colonies, and inveigh against the revolutionists of France. His conservative spirit proceeded from realising how seldom the true value is appreciated by the common people of laws and constitutions which seem to fetter, though they really assist, constitutional development. His ideal, therefore, was not the rule of *all* but the rule of the *best*.

(a) Burke, 1729-97. (The Age of Johnson 68. Morley's *Burke*, Gardiner and Mullinger 181, Green 770, Macaulay's *Essays*, 99, Lecky iii, 381; iv. 160)

- (b) As a statesman. As a statesman his three speeches on America give him a high place. He can see no solution in force, but would treat "a whole people" with lenity; for he hated "the eternal fallacies of war and conquest." As a writer he has all the style of the XVIII. Century, its stately language, its careful composition and its rolling sentences. His first great piece of political literature was "*Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*." (1770). It was a full and complete answer to Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*. He defended the system of party government, and denounced the constant conflict between the Ministries and Court favourites. His solution was that described above: neither the corrupt influence of the Crown or the ignorant influence of the populace, but the good influence of the King, guided by his constitutional advisers, who in turn should be guided by the true interests of their country. The obvious weakness of such an ideal was that it failed to take into account human nature. Neither the King or Parliament could rise superior to the corruptness of its generation. The most famous of Burke's writings was his "*Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790). This championship of the old régime gave him a European reputation.

- (b) American policy (Lecky iv, 84-104.) Rockingham, no less than Burke, was inclined to treat the Colonies tenderly. Grenville's policy was reversed by the repeal of the Stamp Act. The colonists gave themselves up to a general rejoicing, but they overlooked what Rockingham had at the same time done to save the dignity of the English Parliament. The Declaratory Act affirmed that the Parliament at Westminster had the right to make laws which would be binding on the colonies in all cases whatsoever. It helped to end the Ministry. (1) Both Repeal and Declaration were in direct opposition to the King's wishes, and (2) a resolution of the Commons as to the absolute illegality of general warrants did not help towards harmonious relations between the Government and the Crown. The King had once again to seek Pitt's help.
- (1) Repeal of Stamp Act.
- (2) Declaratory Act.
- (c) Causes of downfall.

- V. Chatham—
Grafton Ministry
1766-1770.
- Pitt was not fortunate. His acceptance of a peerage as Lord Chatham had undermined his popularity. Few would take office under him except men of second-rate ability among whom Grafton held the chief place. Pitt's ill health prevented anything more than a nominal influence over his party. But he had great schemes for foreign alliances, for Parliamentary Reform, and for the amendment of British rule in America, India and Ireland. None were fulfilled, for Grafton had no control over his subordinates, the chief of whom was the erratic and brilliant Townshend. It seemed the irony of fate that under the leadership of the man whose speeches had much to do with the repeal of the Stamp Act, and who had inveighed against the Declaratory Act, a Bill should be passed which
- (a) Townshend's American Duties Bill or Revenue Act.

fanned the smouldering discontent of America into flame. This Act imposed duties on the import from Great Britain into America of glass, tea, paper and other articles. The revenue of £40,000 which would be thus raised, was to be used in paying judges and other officers of the civil administration. This was to deprive the Colonists of control over such officials, and was bitterly resented.

Townshend died before the effects of his act were fully seen, and the Tory Lord North took his place and continued his policy. Feeling in America ran high. In Massachusetts the Assembly met in defiance of the Governor. In Boston, the women, "the daughters of Liberty," gave up the use of the duty-paying tea. Officials were tarred and feathered in the streets. Non-importation agreements were entered into in all the States. But Boston was the centre of disaffection. Four thousand regulars were centred there, and the bitter feeling which ensued between the citizens and military, ended in the *Boston Massacres*, in which several citizens were killed and wounded.

(Green 777,
Lecky iv, 105-153.)

Nor was it only abroad that affairs were going contrary to Chatham's expressed opinion. At the General Election of 1768, owing to wholesale corruption and the public auction of boroughs, the Ministry retained a majority. But Wilkes had returned from France on the eve of the election and was returned for the County of Middlesex. His outlawry had been declared illegal, but he had been fined heavily and imprisoned. This severity led to riots in London. The troops were called out and, in the suppression of the rioting, some people were killed. In the meantime Wilkes had gained possession of a letter from Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State, to the magistrates, in which the employment of the military was urged. This he published in the *St. James' Chronicle* with a strong criticism, accusing the Government of having planned the massacre of the people. He openly avowed the authorship, and was expelled the House for three offences:—the publishing of "Number 45," for the issuing of obscene poetry, and for libelling Lord Weymouth. Wilkes was promptly re-elected, but the Commons decided that as he had once been expelled, he was incapable of sitting in the House. Both Pitt and Grenville warned them that their decision was unjust and illegal. A third time Wilkes was elected and his election declared void. The fourth time his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, managed to poll some three hundred votes against Wilkes' eleven hundred, and was declared by the House of Commons to be duly elected. Wilkes shortly afterwards was released from prison, and was at once elected an Alderman, and a little later a Sheriff, of the City of London. Throughout the case the Commons had acted in a most high-handed manner.

(b) Wilkes and the
Middlesex Election.

(Green 773, 775,
Lecky iii, 315-343.)

(c) "Letters of Junius."
(Macaulay's *Essays*,
618,
Locky iii, 447.)

(a) They had claimed judicial functions; (b) and had overridden the right of free election. The riots throughout the country, the resolutions passed in great cities and important counties, and the strenuous opposition of the Whigs, pointed to a general discontent with the prevailing system of representation. At this moment began to appear the "Letters of Junius." Their authorship has always been a mystery, although popular opinion has attributed them to Sir Philip Francis, an opponent of Warren Hastings. Clever in their attack, unscrupulous in statement, brilliant in style, they did much to bring to light the general dissatisfaction. Grafton was vigorously assailed; even the King himself was not spared.

(d) Causes of down-
fall.

Early in 1770 the ministry retired. (1) Chatham, once more restored to health, openly repudiated (2) the policy of the ministry in America; he condemned (3) the action of the Commons with regard to Wilkes, and deplored the (4) prevailing tone of foreign policy. There was a general resignation, and the king, fearful of a dissolution, forced Lord North to assume the position of Prime Minister.

2. LORD NORTH'S MINISTRY, 1770—1782.

1. Its character and significance

- (i) The Press Quarrel
- (ii) The Disputed Elections Act
- (iii) The Royal Marriages Act
- (iv) Foreign Politics. Poland and Sweden

2. The American Question

(a) Constitutional conflict 1770—1775

- i. Removal of Import Duties
- ii. Boston "Tea Party."
- iii. North's "Intolerable Acts"
- iv. First Continental Congress

(b) Outbreak of War

3. *The American War*: its threefold division

- i. Civil War, 1775—76
 - a Lexington and Ticonderoga
 - b Washington appointed commander-in-chief
 - c Bunker's Hill
 - d Prospects of Peace: "the Olive Branch"
 - e Its failure: English retaliation: American reprisals
 - f Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776
- ii. The War of Independence, 1776—77.

1. Changed nature of the struggle

- a Americans—advantages and disadvantages
- b English disadvantages

2. Operations of 1776

3. Operations of 1777—the "Grand Combination."

- a Trenton (1776), Philadelphia, Brandywine,
- b The Surrender at Saratoga.
- c Valley Forge

4. The French Alliance

iii. General War against England, 1778—1783.

1. Results of Saratoga
 - a Franco-American Alliance
 - b North's Conciliatory Acts 1778
 - c Universal War
2. Disasters of 1779
 - a Spanish Alliance with America and France
 - b Siege of Gibraltar
 - c Loss of S. Vincent, etc.
 - d Paul Jones
 - e American Conquests in West
3. The Year 1780
 - a Rodney's successes (S. Vincent)
 - b America (1) Cornwallis's successes in South (Charleston, Camden) but retreat after King's Mountain
(2) North : André and Arnold
 - c Holland joins America
 - d India : Hyder Ali
 - e Disasters at Sea
4. The Year 1781
 - a English successes at sea
 - b Successes in India
 - c America (1) Confederation of States
(2) Nathaniel Greene : Cowpens, Guildford Court House, Eutaw Springs
(3) Capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown
 - d English successes elsewhere
5. Peace of Versailles 1782
 - a Treaty of Paris with America
 - b 1783, Treaties with France, Spain, Holland
6. Criticism of the War.
7. The American Constitution

The appointment of Lord North was the token of the King's triumph. The new minister was entirely a tool in his master's hands. An able debater, a sound administrator, he was in temperament so calm that the bitterest attacks failed to rouse him. He slept during the fiercest debates. He was indifferent to criticism.

His dependence on Parliament was of the slightest, for George now not only dictated the policy of the new ministry but himself dispensed the patronage which gave it the support of Parliament. Ministers of State, officials of the Household, Judges, Bishops, officers of the Army, were all appointed by the King with the view of securing the power of himself and his Ministry. The whole administration was thus altered in character. The growing *Cabinet* government gave place to the *Departmental* system in which every minister took his instructions from the King.

George III. did not realise that his victory over the Whig domination in the Commons was only made possible by the fact that he had, in general, the support of the unrepresented masses, and of liberal and independent politicians. He was indeed a good type of the *paternal despot* who played so

iii. Lord North's Ministry.
1770-1782.

i. His character and meaning of his accession.

(Green 777.)

(Lecky iii, 446.)

(i) **The Press Quarrel** important a part in European politics during the XVIII. Century. He sincerely wished to govern for the good of the people. But he wished to govern *for* them, and not *by* them.

(Lecky iii, 477-481.)
(Taswell Langmead
749-52.)

An instance of this was seen in the *Press Quarrel* of 1771, in which the notorious Wilkes again figured. It arose from the Parliamentary privilege of secrecy of debate. The Lords had already secured this by the exclusion of "strangers." On the other hand the debates in the Commons were reported. But it was done, not authoritatively, but from memory and hearsay. The results were wildly inaccurate and often wilfully false (p. 307). So the Commons (1) jealous of the Lords, (2) angry at constant misrepresentation, and (3) by no means realising that their function was to represent the people whose opinion in those days could not be expressed in the elections, attacked Miller, a leading printer. He was ordered to attend at "the Bar of the House." His refusal necessitated an arrest. But the messenger of the Commons who was sent to carry this out was in turn arrested by the authorities of London for a breach of the City's privileges. He was taken to the Mansion House before the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, amongst whom was Wilkes, and committed to trial. The quarrel was now between the City and Commons. The latter imprisoned the Mayor and Sheriffs, but riots forced their release at the end of the session. This Press Quarrel discredited still further the oligarchical Commons who showed how far out of touch they were with their supposed electors. The real result was that the importance of the Press as a political instrument grew rapidly.

(ii) **The Disputed Elections Act.**
(Lecky iii, 435.)

Grenville made an attempt to reform the Commons. Hitherto *disputed elections* had been referred to the decision of the whole House, and had been decided simply as party questions (cf Walpole, p. 308). Now a Select Committee was to be chosen. Party politics could still bias the verdict, and finally in 1868 all such cases were sent to the law-courts. Grenville died in 1770 and Bedford in 1771, and thus North was relieved of able opponents.

(iii) **Royal Marriages Act, 1772.**

Though the King thus had the Opposition weakened, his own family gave him grave cause for distress. His two brothers scandalised the Court by their marriages. So the Royal Marriages Law was passed. This allowed no members of the Royal Family to marry without the consent of the reigning sovereign unless (a) they were twenty-five years of age, (b) they had given twelve months notice to the Privy Council, (c) and the marriage had not been petitioned against by Parliament.

(iv) **Foreign Politics**
Poland, 1772.
(Lecky vi, 73-80-489.)

In Continental affairs England played a small part. She made no protest against the Partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria. This unfortunate country by its diversities of religion, and by its hopelessly im-

practicable constitution, was said to be a menace to the peace of Europe. It was certainly a subject for gross spoliation in which Maria Theresa joined with feigned unwillingness. "*Elle pleurait et toujours prenait.*" War with the Spaniards over their seizure of the Falkland Islands was averted. Captain Cook discovered New Zealand and New South Wales. In regard to India the Regulating Act was passed by which Warren Hastings was appointed the first of a distinguished line of governor-generals.

But the main problem before the Ministry was the American question. Lord North favoured a compromising policy. All the duties, except that on tea, were removed. For a time there was a calm, though the colonists refused to use the imported tea, and various colonies strongly protested against sundry violations of their constitutions. But at Rhode Island a man-of-war sent to check the smuggling was lured on a shoal, and burnt at night. To encourage the consumption of tea, large unordered quantities were sent over, the duty on which was practically withdrawn. But the "*Sons of Liberty*" determined that the bribe should stand no chance of being accepted. Many ships returned with their cargoes untouched; in other cases where they had been landed, the chests were left to rot unopened. In Boston the Governor's sons were the consignees, and their father refused to allow the ships to return without discharging their cargoes, as was the law. On December 16th, 1773, after a monster mass meeting, the ships were boarded by colonists disguised as Indians, and their contents emptied into the sea. A little later a preventive officer was tarred and feathered in Boston.

In England there was great indignation at these acts, and (a) the Boston Port Act was passed which forbade imports to be landed in that port. This was only one of a series of "intolerable" and short-sighted measures. These were chiefly directed against the colony of Massachusetts. (b) Government officials accused of crime were empowered to demand that they should be tried in England; (c) the appointment of the Council was taken away from the elected Assembly and given to the Governor, who was also to appoint the judges and other legal officers. (d) Soldiers were to be quartered in the Colonies. (e) The region between the Ohio and the Mississippi was annexed to Canada, which was governed by Crown-nominees. Yet these acts, so far from over-awing other colonies or gratifying rivals of Massachusetts, rather aroused a lively fear that they all would be similarly treated.

The common danger drew them together, and the "First Continental Congress" met at Philadelphia in 1774. This drew up a Declaration of Rights protesting against the Sugar,

1770.
1768-70.
1773.

2. The American Question.
(a) 1770-1775.
Constitutional conflict.
(i) Removal of import duties.
(Lecky iv, 135.)

- (iii) Boston Tea Party.
(Lecky iv, 165.)

- (iii) North's intolerable Acts, 1774.
(Lecky iv, 165-8.)

- (iv) First Continental Congress, 1774.
(Lecky iv, 180.)

Stamp, Tea and Quartering Acts. They adopted a non-importation and non-consumption agreement. Yet it was generally recognised that no one was really aiming at independence. George Washington expressly disclaimed any such idea. But they were all agreed that they would willingly spend their lives to secure "those rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of every free state."

(b) The beginning of war.

(Lecky iv, 165-175.)

In Massachusetts, however, where General Gage was governor, the colonists took things into their own hands. A council of royal nominees could not be found, the appointed judges dared not sit, and the old assembly met despite the Governor's prohibition. It decided to raise a militia of 20,000 men called 'minute men,' and other colonies were invited to follow this example. The home Government's reply was a foolish admixture of weakness and strength. It passed an act by which it hoped to disunite the states, declaring that if a colony would tax itself, Parliament would refrain from taxing it, but at the same time the Boston Port Act was extended. By this time the colonies were really aroused. Arms were being collected, stores concentrated, and men drilled. Very little was needed to start war in earnest, and that little was soon found.

3. The American War.

(Ludlow, *War of A. Indep'te.*)

The War itself readily falls into three divisions :

- i. The Civil War, when men who all professed allegiance to the same government were fighting with one another (1775—76).
- ii. The War between England and the United States, when the Mother Country was fighting against her sons who had thrown off their allegiance (1776—77).
- iii. The War between England and her European enemies, especially France and Spain, who took advantage of her difficulties to take revenge for old defeats (1778—1783).

The first and second were both simply contests in North America between the Mother-Country and her revolted colonies. They were waged mainly on land, the first chiefly in New England, the second in the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware, and they consisted of a series of heroic skirmishes. The third was a revival of old hostilities and rivalries. It embraced France, Spain and Holland as well as England and the United States. It was fought on a large scale and in all parts of the world, by land and sea. In America the fighting was in the southern districts.

(i) Civil War, 1775-6.

(a) Lexington.

(Lecky iv, 201.)

The real opening of the war occurred at Lexington. Colonel Gage knew that arms and ammunition had been collected at Concord. In order to seize them he sent 800 men under Lieut.-Colonel Smith to surprise the town. But the people were on the alert, and Smith, whilst sending out a reconnaissance, also

sent back for reinforcements. His advance guard met with some opposition but finally Concord was reached, and some ammunition and arms destroyed. A desultory skirmish was carried on in the meantime until the British retreated to the re-inforcements which had been dispatched. The result of this slight affair was important. Armed colonists had actually stood up to British regulars, and had met with some success. This showed the possibility of victory, and encouraged waverers. Militia men poured in, and Gage was besieged at Boston.

The next move was made by Connecticut. A feud between New York and her northern settlers offered the occasion. With eighty-three men the government fort of Ticonderoga was seized almost without a blow, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress."

Ticonderoga.

(Lecky iv, 214.)

The Congress had met at Philadelphia on that same day and voted an army and supplies. George Washington of Virginia was appointed Commander-in-Chief. He was a well-known colonial soldier, and had won approval in the first Congress for his solid information and sound common-sense. He had wonderful patience under adversity, undeviating loyalty to his cause, and great tact in dealing with men. Such a character alone could have successfully passed through the period of disaster, due to the inexperience of his compatriots in the work of fighting and of politics, and the lukewarmness and self-seeking which characterised many of his colleagues. That he passed the ordeal so honourably to himself and so successfully to his country, shows that he is well worthy of the rank he has taken among the great men of his age.

(b) Washington.
(1732-1799).

(Lecky iv, 208-212.)

During the sitting of the Congress, 2,000 men under Hall, Burgoyne and Churton had arrived at Boston. General Gage had placed the country under martial law, and it seemed as if the British would successfully take the offensive. But the so-called battle of Bunker's Hill precipitated matters. Near Boston but divided from it by the river, was Bunker's Hill, which Gage intended to occupy. Learning this the Americans determined to anticipate him. In the dark they seized Breed's Hill, an eminence nearer Boston and overlooking the British camp. Under the cover of fire from ships and batteries, the British made two frontal attacks without success. But at the third the Americans retired in good order, and their adversaries harmed their cause by burning the suburbs in revenge for the heavy losses they had suffered. This did much to alienate American loyalists.

(c) Bunker's Hill.

(Lecky iv, 203.)

Washington now assumed command of the troops round Boston. The British were enclosed by the Americans in a semi-circle of eight or nine miles. But the situation of the latter was desperate. The men were unused to military discipline, they had no real interest in the war, they were

(d) Prospects of
Peace.

easily dispirited. In addition Washington had no supplies and the barest amount of ammunition. But he faced his difficulties well. He welded his disorderly forces into a disciplined force, whilst sallies and raids gave them experience and encouragement.

In Virginia and the Carolines the governors were forced to seek refuge on ships. Horace Walpole amusingly sums up the situation in one of his letters, saying that England "sends her only army to be besieged in one of their towns, and half her fleet to besiege the *terra firma*: but orders her fleet to do nothing, in hopes that the American Senate at Philadelphia will be so frightened at the British army being besieged in Boston that it will sue for peace."

The "Olive Branch" Hill. The Congress had put forward "The Olive Branch," in which the colonists promised to agree to every enactment of Parliament down to 1763, even to the Navigation or Trades Regulation Acts, if they were freed from the new system of Government. Though level-headed and clear-sighted politicians thought the settlement assured, the British Government answered by a proclamation against rebellion and sedition, and hired Hanoverian troops for the war. When Parliament met, a Prohibitory Trade Act was passed forbidding all trade and intercourse with the thirteen colonies. In America opinion on this retaliation was divided, as more than one colony had no wish to have a definite split with the Mother-country. But Congress determined on a policy of retaliation. It began the formation of a navy and invaded Canada. Montgomery, an old subordinate of Wolfe, was chosen for the command. He failed to surprise Montreal, but eventually took it. Arnold, a reckless and courageous soldier, pushed towards Quebec. The difficulties of the march were so great that he only arrived with 900 enfeebled men out of 1100. With Montgomery he made a valiant but utterly useless attack, and Montgomery was killed.

(e) Its failure.
English retaliation:
a, German Troops.
(Lecky iv, 243-6.)
b, Prohibitory Trade Acts.
American reprisals.
(a) Invasion of Canada.

The year 1776 did not begin more propitiously. Small townships, like Falmouth and Norfolk, were burnt to the ground. Washington still lay round Boston with a dwindling, unarmed army. But at last, in March 1776, Boston was evacuated, and the British troops and ships left New England. Washington by pure steadfastness had effected his object. Nor had Congress been idle. It had bribed the great commercial powers by declaring the trade of America was open to all the world, and not subject to the King of Great Britain. Not only was this "a virtual declaration of Independence," but it united all commercial nations against England. France advanced money, and her example was soon followed by Spain. From this time the true trend of events was seen. Various

(b) Capture of Boston, 1776.

colonies disclaimed allegiance to the King of Great Britain. Virginia drew up a Bill of Rights which was afterwards embodied in the Declaration of Independence. This the Congress passed on July 4th, 1776. It recounted in detail the tyrannical acts of the King of Great Britain, and claimed the right of all peoples to institute a government suitable for themselves. It then declared that the "United Colonies" were "free and independent States" with the full rights thereof.

The Declaration of Independence essentially changed the position of affairs. Though Britain still regarded her adversaries as disobedient Colonists they considered themselves, and of course they were, independent States. If this gave enthusiasm to many it alienated not a few, who had not desired complete secession. If it enabled the States presently to seek and obtain assistance from the enemies of England, it also brought into play faction, jealousy, and division—the usual accompaniments of success.

The States differed from one another in origin, traditions and temperament. Only under pressure of English misgovernment had they joined together. Now each tried to throw the burden of the war on another. Washington was grudgingly supplied, surrounded by jealous colleagues, and in command of men who were practically volunteers, impatient of discipline and anxious to return to their ordinary life. Consequently he was almost constantly on the defensive, which is never inspiring or popular.

On the other hand the English were furious. Even Chatham, though he denounced the war, denounced American Independence still more fiercely. Hence Walpole's witticism "Chatham is an Irishman: he would recall the troops and deny the Independence." More soldiers were landed, but the huge size of the country to be reconquered and its great distance from England were insuperable obstacles to success, even if the cause had been just and the generals capable.

General Howe was despatched from England with troops and undertook the direction of operations. His plan was to land at various points troops to combine with the "Loyalists." He sent one expedition to Quebec which expelled the invaders from Canada, and another to Charleston which failed. His main objective was New York. Not only were there many Loyalists there, but from its position and its excellent harbours it would make an effective base for operations which were intended to make the Hudson River an armed line which should cut off New England from the rest of the States. He captured New York, and Washington was obliged to abandon the Hudson River and retreat into Pennsylvania at the close of the year.

The British plan of next year's operations was a "Grand

(f) Declaration of Independence.
(July 4th., 1776.)
(Reich's Documents 690,
Locky iv, 246.)

ii. The War of Independence, 1776-77.
i. Changed character of the struggle.
a. Americans—advantages and disadvantages.

b. English disadvantages.

2. Operations of 1776.

(Locky iv, 354-80.)

3. Operations of
1777.
The Grand Com-
bination.

Combination" of Burgoyne's troops from the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, St. Leger's from Oswego, and Clinton's from New York. These were to make a joint attack on the line of the Hudson River.

(a) Trenton (1776.)
(Lecky iv, 385.)

The British had waited for the Delaware to become frozen over to enable them to cross in pursuit of Washington, but he himself took the offensive and on Christmas night 1776 surprised and captured a thousand Germans at Trenton. On January 3rd, 1777, he defeated Cornwallis at Princeton and drove him from New Jersey. Success brought many adventurer to his aid, among the most noticeable of whom were La Fayette from France and Kosciusko, a Polish engineer.

Philadelphia.

Howe attempted to retaliate by marching against Philadelphia, where the sittings of the Congress were held. But Washington's success had closed the route through New Jersey and he had to make a long detour, conveying his troops by sea to Chesapeake Bay. He then defeated Washington's attempt at Brandywine Creek to bar his way and occupied Philadelphia, Washington being compelled to retire to his winter quarters at Valley Forge.

Brandywine.
(Lecky iv, 423.)

But the plan of the "Great Combination" had been completely ruined, for Howe's expedition had diverted the New York contingent altogether. Meanwhile Burgoyne, coming from Oswego, found no support. He was checked at Fort Stanwix, where the Americans first used the "Stars and Stripes," but occupied Ticonderoga. Advancing southwards he found himself in a still more hostile country, and subjected to constant harassing. In August one eighth of his forces were cut to pieces by the "Green Mountain Boys." Surrounded and isolated he tried to retire. The enemy closed in upon him and at Saratoga he found himself with 4000 men held a prisoner by 14000. He was obliged to surrender with his forces.

(b) The Surrender
at Saratoga.

(c) Valley Forge.
(Lecky iv, 426.)

Washington meanwhile was in a sore plight at Valley Forge through lack of men, money, and supplies. Fever broke out. The horses died of starvation. His little army was still further reduced by the desertion of many, officers as well as men. Had Howe attacked he might have avenged the capture of the Northern Army at Saratoga by annihilating the Army of Washington. But the British were content to enjoy themselves at Philadelphia, and an opportunity was lost which was never to return.

4. French Alliance.
Lecky iv, 434.)

For in February 1778 it was announced that France had seized the moment for avenging herself for many disasters inflicted by the British, and had allied herself with the Americans. It was certain that Spain would soon follow her example.

The character of the war was then changed completely.

If England had found it difficult to oppose the Americans when they stood alone she would find it impossible to do so now. France thus effectually secured the independence of the United States, though in doing so, as events proved, she made inevitable the French Revolution.

With the American-Bourbon alliance the war entered on a new phase,—one fraught with grave consequences to all concerned. France was hastened to bankruptcy and revolution in sheer pursuit of a fruitless revenge. Spain weakened herself so that she could not withstand Napoleon's onset, and England finally lost the States.

iii, Genl. War against England 1778-1783.

Saratoga was an important landmark. It enabled Franklin to complete the alliance with France, and it forced the British Government to realise at last the gravity of the situation. The immediate results of the surrender of Burgoyne and of the rumours of the coming Treaty were a series of *Conciliatory Acts*, which unmistakeably bore every mark of weakness. (a) The first repealed all the laws which had been passed against Massachusetts; (b) The second disclaimed all right to tax the Colonies; (c) The third recognised officials appointed by the Congress, and appointed commissioners "to arrange all matters except independence." Chatham, on hearing of the alliance, had advised war against France and all her allies, though willing to yield everything to the Colonists except independence. Of course his proposals were paradoxical, for the Americans refused to accept the Commissioners until they recognised the independence of the States. He died in 1778.

1. *Results of Saratoga.*
a, Franco-American Alliance.

b, North's Conciliatory Acts, (Lecky iv, 449.)

The war became world-wide. India, the Mediterranean, the West Indies and Africa, as well as America, all were included in the area of operations.

c, Universal war.

(1) In India as soon as the possibility of war with France was realised, arrangements were made for seizing all her possessions there. Pondicherry was taken (1778), but the capture of Mahé plunged England into a war with the Mahrattas. (2) At sea, near Brest, there was a battle which was indecisive owing to the jealousy of the British Admirals Keppel and Palliser. Paul Jones, an American privateer, burnt the shipping at Whitehaven. (3) In the Indies Dominica was taken by the French, but they lost S. Lucia and two other small islands. (4) In America Clinton, Howe's successor, evacuated Philadelphia and retreated towards New York. He was attacked on his way by Washington at the battle of Monmouth. The American general was not supported by his subordinate Lee, and the British safely effected their retreat. On reaching New York, Clinton was besieged by Sullivan, and a French fleet under d'Estaing appeared at the mouth of the Delaware. There was some delay before the attack was made, and this enabled Howe to come to the rescue with British men-of-war.

Before he could attack, both fleets were scattered by a storm. Sullivan, unsupported, had to retreat and transferred the majority of his men to the Southern States. Washington was hampered by lack of supplies.

In the South an important campaign took place. The colonists there had always been Tories or Royalists and it was thought that they might materially aid the British forces. Colonel Prevost met with some degree of success. He defeated the Americans at Savannah and drove them out of Georgia. South Carolina was invaded, and Charlestown threatened. But the ravages of the British troops alienated many colonial supporters.

2. Disasters of 1779. The year 1779 opened with the participation of Spain in war. The lack of British success and the desire to win back Gibraltar and Minorca emboldened her to join France, and the combined fleets of the Bourbon monarchies patrolled the Channel unopposed. Jealousy between the allied admirals caused them to separate without effecting anything, but Gibraltar was besieged. Elsewhere England was not more successful. Senegal and the islands of S. Vincent and Grenada were won by France. In the North Sea Paul Jones was supreme. He defeated an English man-of-war, the *Serapis*, and her consort as they were escorting the Baltic fleet. The fight was desperate; the ships lay side to side, and on Jones' ship the *Bonhomme Richard* 300 out of 375 men were killed. In America itself, little or nothing was done on either side. The Americans had no money to pay their troops, and their only offensive measures were those taken by Clarke against the Indians. These had important results in that they won for the States the important lands west of the Ohio. The whole year was disastrous to the British arms.
- a, Spain allies with America & France.
- b, Siege of Gibraltar (Lecky v. 18.)
- c, Loss of S. Vincent etc.
- d, Paul Jones.
- e, American conquests in West.

3. The year 1780. 1780 began more propitiously. Rodney had now been appointed to the command of the fleet. He is one of England's greatest admirals, and saved her at this critical time from disgrace and ruin. A man of unprincipled morals, he was fearless, courageous and brave to a fault. He sailed to relieve Gibraltar and Minorca. On the way he fought a running fight with the Spanish and utterly defeated them off Cape St. Vincent. He relieved Gibraltar just in time, and replenished its stores from the ships which he had captured. He then sailed for the West Indies, but, failing to bring the enemy to a decisive action, sailed to co-operate with Clinton in New York.
- a, Rodney's successes. (Hannay's Rodney.)
- (Lecky v. 57.)
St. Vincent.

- b. America.
- (1). Cornwallis' successes in the South.

Capture of
Charlestown.
(Lecky v. 20.)

Charlestown was taken and General Lincoln was forced to capitulate. Cornwallis had now subdued South Carolina and Georgia. A little later he won an important engagement

at Camden. General Gates had a large army, drawn from both north and south. But two-thirds of the troops turned tail before the battle began. The Americans suffered a heavy loss, and a few days afterwards another detachment of 800 men had to lay down arms. But when Cornwallis began his march into North Carolina, he was met by guerilla tactics which were harassing and distressing. The enemy were encouraged by their successes and presently they signally defeated an advance guard of the British at King's Mountain. This forced Cornwallis to retreat.

Camden.
(Lecky v, 22.)

King's Mountain
and retreat of
Cornwallis.

(2.) North, André
and Arnold.

In the north neither Clinton nor Washington had moved. But an incident occurred which shows how little the Americans, even in high positions, really hoped to succeed in the war. The hero of the first Canadian campaign, Benedict Arnold, had been left in command of Philadelphia. His loose manner of living and love of extravagance had laid him open to charges of bribery and dishonesty. He was condemned by a Court-Marshal and publicly reprimanded by Washington. Smarting under what he considered bad treatment and hopeless in what he felt was a losing cause, he began to intrigue with Clinton. Some months later, when in command of West Point, an important fort on the Hudson River, he agreed to deliver it over to the English. During Washington's absence, Major André was sent to Arnold by Clinton, and the final arrangements for the treachery were completed. André was returning with the plans of the fort, when it was found that his ship had been forced to leave its moorings. He therefore was given a pass through the American lines in order to return to New York. He assumed civilian dress, and was on his way when he was accidentally stopped in sight of the British lines, by three Americans, probably cattle-lifters, who little expected to find on him what they did. He was condemned to death as a spy, and was hanged by Washington's orders. His youth and gallant record have won for him universal sympathy. The whole affair was more than unfortunate, and it seems justly summed up in the statement "Never perhaps did man suffer death with more justice or deserve it less." Arnold, ever after known as "the traitor Arnold," escaped and received the command he had been promised, but he did little against his countrymen.

(Lecky v, 36.)

Holland was now dragged into the war. England with a wide interpretation of the term "contraband of war" claimed the right of searching all ships. This fell hardly on a great trading nation like the Dutch, who indeed were doing a large business with the Americans in timber for ship-building. The daring American privateer, Paul Jones, on the other hand, had taken his English prizes into the Texel. Reprisals followed and a Dutch convoy was stopped and some ships captured.

c, Holland joins
America.

1780.

War was declared at the end of the year 1780, and Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, fearing their ships might be treated like those of Holland, formed the Armed Neutrality to prevent neutral vessels from being seized and searched.

d, India : Hyder Ali. In India, Hyder Ali had attacked the British after they had attacked Mahé. He seriously menaced Madras.

e, Disasters at sea. On the sea there were reverses. The Quebec fleet was captured by the Americans, and the East and West Indian fleets by the Spanish.

4. *The year 1781.* In 1781, Rodney captured the Dutch island of S. Eustatia

a, English successes at sea. with £3,000,000 of merchandise and a large number of ships. The other Dutch colonies were soon reduced. An indecisive battle enabled the French to win Tobago and recapture S. Eustatia. In Europe Gibraltar was furiously attacked, and the town destroyed, and all supplies cut off. But Admiral Derby relieved it in time. In India all went in favour of the British.

b, Successes in India

c, America.

(1) Confederation of States.

(2) Nathaniel Greene

Cowpens.
(Lecky v, 103.)

Guildford Court House.

(3) Eutaw Springs.

In America the Colonists seemed so weak that the English Secretary of State expected a speedy settlement of the rebellion. But although Washington's troops openly mutinied for their pay, a great bond of union was formed by the *Articles of Confederation*.

In the Southern States an able American General, Nathanael Greene, had taken charge. His appearance marked the beginning of final success upon the American side. His subordinate, Morgan, won a decisive victory at Cowpens, where chance converted the British from a winning to a losing side. The victory gave heart to the Americans, but it strengthened the determination of Cornwallis to recover N. Carolina and Virginia. Greene retreated before him, but the British were as usual seriously menaced by guerilla warfare. At last the Americans took up a strong position at Guildford Court House. In numbers they nearly doubled those of the British, yet the latter won each position in turn. But their loss of men and the distance from their base compelled Cornwallis to retreat, and he moved on Virginia. Greene at once recovered N. Carolina, and then proceeded to win back S. Carolina and Georgia. This he did, for though the English won battles, they could not hold the country. After winning the victory of Eutaw Springs, Cornwallis recognised the hopelessness of his task. He realised, too, that the loyalists would not rise in behalf of English rule. He reached Petersburg and spent time in uselessly pursuing La Fayette and plundering the country. Being ordered to send back a large number of men to Clinton in New York, he retired into Yorktown.

Washington and the French combined in August, and feigning an attack on New York, they gradually concentrated their troops on Yorktown. De Grasse in the meantime

blocked the sea approach. After some desperate sallies Cornwallis had to surrender with his 4,000 troops. This virtually ended the war. England had already lost all the Indies except Barbadoes and Antigua: Minorca had been taken by the French: French soldiers were successfully landed in India. In England Lord North at last persuaded the King to allow him to resign.

(4.) Capitulation at Yorktown.

(Lecky v, 117.)

The war dragged on for a little longer, and the British gained two important naval victories which enabled her to make more favourable terms than she could otherwise have hoped. Rodney and Hood won "the battle of The Saints" near Dominica, saving Jamaica and restoring the British naval prestige. Howe relieved Gibraltar after it had endured a severe three days' bombardment. On November 30th, 1782, by the *Treaty of Paris*, Great Britain and America came to terms:—

d. English successes elsewhere.

(Lecky v, 175.)

5. Peace of Versailles, 1792.
a, T. of Paris with America.
(Reich's Documents 74.)

1. The United States were recognised as free, sovereign and independent.
2. British Louisiana was ceded to them.
3. The United States retained fishing rights off Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

(Lecky v, 185-226.)

In September 1783 Great Britain made definite treaties with all the Powers with whom she had been at war.

- i. France. The West Indies were restored to Great Britain and France regained her Indian factories and stations. Fishing rights in Newfoundland on "*the French shore*" were given to France and Tobago was ceded to her.
- ii. Spain retained Minorca and the Floridas, but restored the Bahamas.
- iii. Holland received back her possessions, but granted Great Britain free trading rights in the East Indies.

b France.

(Lecky v, 226.)

Spain.

Holland.

"The first dismemberment of an ancient and noble monarchy." These words of Chatham fitly sum up the material results of the war. Yet many things had pointed to a different conclusion of the war: (a) the lack of union among the States, (b) the difficulty of keeping together the soldiers of the American army, (c) the hopeless financial state of the Colonies, and (d) a fair expectation on the part of England that she would receive much colonial support. But (a) the distance from the Mother Country in days of difficult communication, (b) the enormous tract of country to be held, (c) the indifference of the so-called loyalists, (d) the reckless disregard of opportunities by British Generals, and (e) French and Spanish interference combined to deprive Great Britain of the Colonies. On the other hand the developments in manufacture which were being made were making England richer year by year, while her enemies were nearly bankrupt.

6. Criticism of the war.

After independence had been recognised, the Americans in

7. The American Constitution

(Reich's *Documents*
695; Maine *Popular*
Government;

Bryce's *American*
Commonwealth.)

1787 formed their Constitution. They took as their model that of Great Britain. It differs from this inasmuch as it is rigid, written, ready-made, and therefore lacks the flexibility which is the result of a gradual growth during many centuries. Moreover it had to unite the differing ideas, customs and feelings of various States, most of which were jealous of a central authority and tenacious of their own rights. The rights which the several States retain are therefore numerous, and are often harmful. The three departments of Government are also independent of one another, and this is liable to lead to friction between them.

- (a) The Executive. i. The President and Vice-President hold office for four years. They are chosen by electors appointed by each State in proportion to its population. The object of this double election was to ensure the free choice of the President on his merits. In practice, however, he is simply elected as the representative of a party.
- ii. The President's powers. He can declare war or make peace : issue coinage : veto bills unless they are passed by a two-thirds majority in both houses.
- iii. The Secretaries or Ministers are appointed by the President. They cannot sit in either house.
- (b) The Legislature. Congress was to consist of two Houses.
 - i. The Senate : Its members are elected by each State legislature, two from each. They sit for six years. Their privileges are very much the same as those of the Lords, and they act as Judges in cases of Impeachment.
 - ii. The House of Representatives : Its members are elected by each State in proportion to population. It alone can originate money bills and can impeach ministers.
- (c) The Judicature. Judges are appointed and hold office during life and good behaviour. They interpret the laws according to the written constitution and this makes them independent of the Executive and Legislature.

It is evident such a constitution is simply that of England as it was received in those days. The obstacles which were purposely placed in the way of modifications have preserved it almost unchanged,—a fossil of the 18th Century.

3. INDIA.

- i. *North's Regulating Act 1773*
- ii. *Warren Hastings*
 - 1 His policy (1772-86)
 - a Bengal and Oudh, Nand Kumar
 - b The Mahratta War
 - c Hyder Ali
 - d Chetty Sing

e The Begums of Oudh

2 Fox's India Bill 1783.

3 Pitt's India Bill 1784

4 Impeachment of Hastings

iii. *Cornwallis* 1786-93.

iv. *Tippoo Sahib, and Napoleon*

The King's policy of centralisation met with favour in so far as it was applied to India. In 1773 Lord North brought forward his *Regulating Act* for India. Since the days of Clive there had been weak administration. Many abuses had grown up, but the home Government had been too much occupied to attempt to remedy them.

i. *North's Regulating Act, 1773.*
(Lyall, *Rise of British Dominion in India.*)

i. It established a Supreme Court, with Elijah Impey as chief judge.

ii. The Governor of Bengal was to be Governor-General of India with certain rights over the other provinces.

iii. A Council of four was appointed to assist him in the government. Their names were Barwell, Clavering, Monson, and Philip Francis.

The results of this Act were important. (i) It brought the East India Company under the control of the Home Government. (ii.) It did away with the system of "Nabobs."

These were men who went out from England as poorly-paid servants to the Company, and returned having become very wealthy by half-lawful means. With their money they bought seats in the Commons and formed a powerful party ready to oppose any reforms especially in Indian affairs which might touch their pockets.

(Macaulay's *Essays* 539.)

(iii.) It appointed Warren Hastings as Governor-General. He was of good family and had gone to India to retrieve his fortunes. Clive had drawn him into political life, and his own ability had raised him. He was a great organizer and administrator and his object was to consolidate the English possessions in India. He had an intimate knowledge of the Bengalese, their language and customs. He transformed the native princes of Bengal into pensioners and thus secured direct administration. He helped the Nawab of Oudh to conquer the Rohillas who were a standing danger in the north west. He formed a body of Indian Civil Servants, encouraging merit and sternly repressing corruption. He ruled well and wisely for the good of the people though certainly for the profit of the Company. One of England's greatest "viceroys," he was misunderstood and maligned by his contemporaries, but the real soundness of his work has given him his reward with posterity.

ii. *Warren Hastings.* 1732-1818.

(Macaulay's *Warren Hastings*, Lyall's *do* Trotter's *do*.)

i. His policy.

a, Bengal & Oudh,

His position was not enviable under the Act. The Council had ill-defined powers over the rest of India, and its members were openly hostile to him. They increased the subsidies due from the Nawab of Oudh and at the same time forced him to

allow his predecessor's property to remain in the hands of the widow and mother of the dead man—the Begums as they were called. When an infamous Brahman named Nand Kumar brought charges of taking bribes against Hastings, Francis eagerly adopted them.

Nand Kumar.

(Macaulay 611-13,
621-25.)

To support these charges Nand Kamur produced certain documents. He was suddenly accused of forgery, tried before Sir Elijah Impey, condemned and hanged. Francis and his friends accused Hastings of collusion with Impey and called him a murderer. Though the sentence was severe for a crime common at that time amongst natives, and the condemnation opportune for the Governor-General, there is little reason to think it was done with Hastings' knowledge. Soon after Monson died and Francis came home, to work on the Directors and the English public against the Governor-General.

Hastings had further difficulties. Madras and Bombay were jealous of the supremacy of Bengal. They tried to over-ride the wishes of Hastings, and to obtain the same mastery over their provinces as Calcutta had done over Bengal. The Bombay Government tried to gain power by helping the Mahrattas who proved dangerous friends, for they allied with the French and for a time things looked serious. Madras was similarly endangered by the revolt of Hyder Ali who championed the cause of the French who had lately been ejected from Pondicherry (1778) and other stations in the Carnatic. It was Hastings who extricated both Governments from their difficulties.

b, The Mahratta war.
(Reich 33.)

The ambition of the Bombay Government was to acquire Bassein and Sabsette which formerly belonged to the Portuguese, but now were in the hands of the Mahrattas. Hastings at first disapproved of a policy carried on without his knowledge. Later he supported it as it gave him an opportunity of suppressing French activity which had revived after Saratoga.

The Bombay Government hopelessly failed in an expedition to Poonah, but two decisive military events, directed by Hastings—a march from Calcutta to Guzerat (1780) and the capture of Gwalior—restored British prestige. By the *Treaty of Salbai*, Sabsette was obtained by Bombay, and all foreigners except British and Portuguese were excluded from Mahratta territory. Madras also called for his intervention. It had provoked Hyder Ali who was an unscrupulous and able Mohammedan ruler. In attacking the French the Bengalese Government had occupied Mahé, the port by which Hyder Ali communicated with Europe, and had invaded Mysore. The disasters to Great Britain in America, and the trouble with the Mahrattas, seemed to supply the necessary occasion for reprisals. Forming an alliance with the French, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam of Hyderabad, he invaded the Carnatic and won

c, Hyder Ali.
(Reich 33.)

two decisive victories over Munro and Baillie. "A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple." Hastings was appealed to and at once set to work. He bribed the Nizam to desert, the Mahrattas were forced to withdraw, and Sir Eyre Coote was sent from Madras to confront Hyder Ali. By his victories of Porto Novo and Polilore (1781) he saved Madras. The next year saw peace with France and the death of Hyder Ali. His son Tippoo made peace with England.

All this had caused expense, and Hastings raised money by questionable, if Eastern methods, which even the strongest necessity can hardly condone. From Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, he demanded a large subsidy for the war on the ground that he was a dependent of the Company. On Cheyte Sing's refusal, he fined him £500,000, and went in person to collect it. His force was beaten back, but, on reinforcements arriving, he stormed the town, deposed the Rajah, and took the money by force. d, Cheyte Sing.

The Nawab of Oudh was then applied to for assistance. His wealth had been given to the Begums. Hastings lent him troops to take the money from them by force. A large part went to Hastings in payment of a debt to the Company. e, The Begums of Oudh.

Such a state of things as existed in India could not be permanent. A great and growing Empire could not permanently be managed by a trading Company. But the past services of the East India Company and its own power, as well as the rivalries of political parties, made complete reform difficult. There were various attempts at reform. In 1781 a Political Enquiry was held, but the Company refused to recall Hastings. In 1783 Fox introduced his India Bill, which was drafted by Burke. It sought to revise North's Regulating Act, and put the Government on a firmer basis. Its provisions were as follows : (a) Fox's India Bill, 1783.

- (a) To transfer the *political management* from the Company to seven commissioners to be appointed by Parliament. They were to hold office for four years and future vacancies were to be filled by the Crown.
- (b) To place the *commercial management* under eight directors who were to be controlled by the above commissioners.

(Lecky v, 231.)

This Bill met with the fiercest opposition and overthrew the ministry. (a) The "nabobs" in Parliament resented the government control over the Company : (b) the Opposition refused to countenance a measure which gave their opponents so much power ; whilst (c) the King saw in it a curtailment of his powers. So he caused a statement to be circulated in the House that "whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend but would be considered by him as an enemy." The ministry was forced to resign.

(4) Pitt's India Act, 1784. In 1784 Pitt's India Bill was carried, and remained in force till 1858. Its provisions were as follows :

- (a) A Board of Control was appointed, consisting of six members of the Privy Council chosen by the Crown. It was directly responsible to the Parliament and the Crown and had supreme military and civil authority.
- (b) The Company retained the business and commercial appointments, subject to the veto of the Crown.

This was a wise compromise. (1) The political affairs of India were placed under the Board of Control, but (2) there was no sudden disturbance of patronage, which was divided between the Crown and the Company ; and (3) there was no interference with chartered rights.

(4) *Impeachment of Hastings.* In 1785 Hastings returned to face the growing hostility engendered by party politics, personal spite, and general misunderstanding.

a, The Trial. In 1787 the Commons resolved to impeach him. The Impeachment was moved by Burke, and supported by Fox for party reasons. The trial began in 1788 and dragged on till 1795. Actually it occupied only 148 days, and in the end he was acquitted. Long before this all interest in the trial which had begun with so much display, in which every great orator was a prosecutor, and at which the noblest and best of England's rank had gathered, was at an end.

The definite charges against Hastings were as follows :

1. He had hired English troops to the Nawab of Oudh.
This was at any rate condoned by his subsequent appointment as Governor General, and the charge failed.
2. The fine he had imposed on Cheyte Singh.
This was carried in Parliament, with Pitt's support.
3. The robbery of the Begums.

This charge was also carried, with Pitt's support.

The failure of the Impeachment may be attributed to (a) the general sense of the great services he had rendered in India, and (b) a feeling of sympathy with a man who was accused by such powerful and talented men as Burke, Sheridan, and Philip Francis.

The Constitutional importance of the trial was that it decided that an Impeachment was not ended by a Dissolution of Parliament.

b, Its value Warren Hastings was justly acquitted. But it was evident he had done many things which, though common enough to Eastern methods of rule, were contrary to English standards of justice and morality. Much permanent improvement in Indian affairs resulted from the light which his Impeachment threw on the many abuses which prevailed in the distant Empire.

He acted as he did not for personal gain but with the object of strengthening and extending British rule. He carried out a vast and complicated reform of the administration, the general effect of which was to transfer the responsible posts from native to British officials, and to ensure that these should be uncorrupt and efficient. It was Warren Hastings, more than any other, who placed the power of England in India on a firm basis. c. Hastings' work.

The next phase of Indian history was opened by Napoleon's attempt to convert it into a French dependency.

Cornwallis, who became Governor General in 1786, instituted many reforms. He put an end to the system of perquisites and gave the officials proper salaries, and he improved the systems of landowning and of justice. iii. Cornwallis.
1786-93

When Napoleon began his attempt to capture India for France he encouraged Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, the son of Hyder Ali, to rise. Richard Wellesley, Governor General from 1798 to 1805, attacked him. Seringapatam was captured and his territory of Mysore brought under English rule. The English were thus brought once again in contact with the Mahrattas, and Wellesley introduced the "Subsidiary System," by which the Provinces were governed by an English resident, and English officers were placed over the native armies. iv. Tippoo Sahib and
Napoleon.

1799

In spite of efforts to avoid extension of territory, repeated attacks by native tribes made it constantly necessary, and gradually all India and even Burma (1823—8) came under British rule, with many improvements in the Government. Meanwhile the East India Company, in consequence of Pitt's Act of 1784, became practically a department of the British Government. Its charter was revised in 1833, and in 1858 it lapsed to the Crown.

4. HOME POLITICS 1772—1788.

1 *Lord North's Domestic Policy*

- i. Slavery—Sommersett's case
- ii. Prison Reform—John Howard
- iii. Religious Toleration—The Gordon Riots, 1780
Lord North's Resignation, 1782

2 *Party Confusion, 1782-84*

- i. Rockingham's 2nd Ministry and Reform
- ii. Shelburne's Ministry—end of American war
- iii. Coalition Ministry, 1783

3 *William Pitt the younger 1783-1801*

- a Pitt's character
- b His earlier work
 - i. India
 - ii. Finance
 - iii. Parliamentary Reform
 - iv. Ireland
 - v. The Regency Question

i. Lord North's
Domestic Policy.

Slavery.

(Lecky ii, 247.)

(Fielden 340.)

Sommersett's Case
1772.

(Lecky v, 340.)

ii. Prison Reform.

(Lecky ii, 327.)

John Howard,
(Lecky vi, 163, vii,
327-334.)

iii. The Civil List.
1777.

(Fielden p. 176.)

The closing years of the XVIII. Century were distinguished by the awakening of a desire to improve the condition of the people. This goes far to relieve the Century from its general dullness. Public Opinion on the subject of Slavery was beginning to change. For many years England with the Dutch had been the leaders in this detestable trade which had received a new impetus from the Assiento Treaty 1713. The slaves were treated as mere property, without any of the rights or claims of human beings. Even Pitt, the elder, upheld the system, and Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State and one of the leaders of religious thought in England, declared that "We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation." But in the Northern Colonies of America there was a rising spirit of dislike to it, and in England itself opinion was changing. Ever since villanage died out, and had been declared illegal, the status of a colonial slave had been questionable. In the colonies slavery was legal. But a slave, named Sommersett, who had been brought to England, sued for his *Habeas Corpus* and Chief Justice Mansfield in 1772 declared slavery to be illegal in England. Later Wilberforce and Clarkson by stirring speeches and unflagging zeal did much in preparing for its general abolition in the British Empire. Both Pitt and Fox were in favour of it, but the French Revolution tempered the former's enthusiasm in this as in other causes. It was finally abolished in the British Empire in 1807.

The state of criminals in English prisons was terrible. Transportation was far more preferable. The prisoners were not even fed by the authorities but subsisted on alms. Sanitation was almost unknown. The prisons were so overcrowded that jail-fever carried off hundreds of victims, and released prisoners spread the contagion far and wide. Sexes and classes were herded together indiscriminately, so that few had the chance of regaining respectability. The jailers, too, practically owned the prisons and retained the unfortunate prisoners, as debtors, long after the proper date for their release. The philanthropist, John Howard, first drew attention to the state of things. He visited jails in England and abroad, often at the risk of his own life, and laid the matter before Parliament. In consequence measures of prison reform began in 1774.

The necessity for paying the King's debts brought about attempts at economy. The Civil List was established for the support of the royal household, the personal expenses of the Sovereign, and the payment of civil officers and pensioners. It was this latter item which enabled Burke and others of the Opposition to press for Reform. Royal influence was often exercised through the granting of Pensions in return for

Parliamentary support, and in 1780 Dunning, a lawyer, carried his famous resolution "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

In 1778—9 the Government, who were in favour of a measure of religious toleration, encountered serious opposition in the country, where ignorant Protestantism was strong. Relief was given to Roman Catholics enabling them to worship according to their own usage, and to inherit land. The next year disabilities on Dissenting ministers and schoolmasters were removed. But the former Act caused serious riots, largely led by a half-witted fanatic named Lord George Gordon. At the head of 60,000 men, chiefly roughs of the London slums, he marched to the Houses of Parliament. The mob of course fell to rioting, Houses were looted, Roman Catholic places of worship were sacked and burnt. London was in the power of the mob for three days, and order was only restored by the soldiers.

iv. Religious Toleration.

The Gordon Riots. 1780.

(Lecky iv, 309-325.)

(Dickens' Barnaby Rudge).

Lord North's resignation, 1782.

Lord North's ministry came to an end in 1782. It was caused by (1) the determined opposition of the Whigs, (2) the growing demands for religious, civil, and parliamentary reform and (3) anger at the failure of the war in America, especially after the capitulation of Yorktown. The King finally had to allow Lord North to resign after a long ministry in which he had served his master's interests all too faithfully.

The next two years was a period of party confusion. The triumph of the Whigs was short-lived against the determined opposition of the King, though for a time he had to admit them to office.

2. Party confusion, 1782-1784.

Lord Rockingham formed a ministry with the main objects of bringing in some measures of reform, and of definitely ending the American War. The Civil List was regulated and pensions cut down. But there was no real saving. The proceedings about the Middlesex Election (1768-9) were reversed, and Ireland was given legislative independence.

i. Rockingham's 2nd Ministry & Reform.

1782.

Rockingham's death this year left Shelburne to acknowledge the independence of the American Colonies, and to sign the treaties of Versailles, which ended the Anglo-Bourbon war. But a split in the ministry enabled North and Fox to form a coalition ministry, under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. It was insignificant except for two facts, (a) the rise of Fox to power, and (b) his India Bill. Charles James Fox was one of the most brilliant characters of the XVIII. century. Though he left nothing of any permanent value behind him in politics or statesmanship, yet his influence on his age was great and important. A younger son of the dissolute Lord Holland his upbringing was that of a gambler and a profligate, and these marks in his character remained throughout his life. He was destitute of morality in his

ii. Shelburne's Ministry and the ending of American war.

iii. Coalition Ministry, 1783.

(a) Fox (1749-1806.)

(Lecky iv, 253-261.)

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private life, and he squandered his fortune at the gaming table. In politics except for eleven months he was ever in opposition.

His private life, as well as his political opinions, made him abhorrent to the King, and he did much to ruin the character of the Prince of Wales. His disgraceful character discredited him also in the eyes of the nation, even in an age when morality was low and tastes were coarse. Yet he was a scholar only equalled by Burke; he was an extraordinarily brilliant debater, a faithful friend, and an enthusiastic Whig. But as a statesman he could never be depended on, and he had none of the qualities of a leader. He looked on Politics, as on everything else, as merely a gambling concern in which the chief object was to take advantage of opponents. It was thus that he came to office with Lord North, whom he had always attacked with the greatest bitterness.

- (Lecky v, 364.)
- (Lecky v, 208-221.)
- (b) Fox's India Bill
3. William Pitt the younger. 1783-1801.
- a, Pitt's character. (1759-1806)
- (Lecky v, 146. 240-282)
- His India Bill, already mentioned, wrecked the Government William Pitt formed the Ministry which followed. He was only twenty-four years of age. His acceptance of office was received with jeers by his contemporaries. "A kingdom trusted to a school-boy's care" aptly represents the general opinion. No one expected him to remain in office for long, and Fox scarcely thought of him as a real political rival. Yet this "schoolboy" directed the policy of the nation for seventeen years, during a time fraught with peril to England and the whole of Europe. He inherited more than his father's talents. He was indeed "not a chip of the old block, but the old block itself." Confident of his own ability, "a consummate master of language and parliamentary retort, no young man ever possessed to an equal degree the qualities that are needed for a great parliamentary career." Of stainless morals, incorruptible, with a perfect judgment of the condition and prospect of parties, he concentrated all his powers on the highest aims of public life.

The first few weeks of his Ministry were full of political excitement. Deserted by every capable minister, attacked by the whole force of the opposition, defeated in Parliament times without number, he clung to his post with resolution. The country recognised his worth and his courage, and in the General Election of 1784 he was returned with an assured majority. The nation, tired of the humiliation of England, of her warfare against her own kin, of the trickery and jobbery of parties, gladly welcomed a man without political connexions, and who bore the honoured name of Pitt.

- (Rosebery 60.)
- b, His earlier work.
- i. India.
- (Lecky v, 352.)
- ii. Finance.
- His first great measure was his India Bill. His share in the impeachment of Warren Hastings (1788) has been already mentioned.
- As a peace financier Pitt gained a great name. To check smuggling he reduced the tea duty so as to destroy the smug-

gler's profits. He raised £900,000 by taxing a strange variety of articles such as horses, calico, titles, shooting certificates and the like. To meet the deficit and the floating debt he accepted the lowest tender for loans, thus clearing his government of corruption and bribery. He vainly tried, in spite of the hostility of the King and Commons, to bring in a measure for Parliamentary reform. (Lecky v, 294-330)
iii. Parliamentary Reform 1785.

With rare foresight he endeavoured to unite Ireland and England by a commercial treaty. But the English manufacturers opposed it, and Pitt had to remodel his plans, restricting the Irish and their legislative powers. Fox at once opposed the new proposals and the Irish utterly refused to have anything to do with them. But in 1786 he included Ireland in the commercial treaty which he made between England and France, and in 1800 he passed the Act of Union with Ireland. iv. Ireland. 1785

In the autumn of 1788 the supremacy of Pitt was in danger. The King suffered from a mental attack, and it seemed doubtful for a time whether he would recover his wits. If the Prince of Wales became Regent, it was certain that he would dismiss the Minister who opposed the payment of his debts, and was the avowed foe of his boon-companions. Pitt declared that it was for Parliament to choose the Regent and to fix his powers. Fox, on the other hand, asserted that the Regency was the Prince's right. The Irish Parliament, ever anxious to proclaim its independence, at once declared the Heir-Apparent Regent. Amidst universal joy, and to the general relief, the King recovered. The difficulty about the Regency occurred again in 1810 when the King became permanently insane. Parliament then met and appointed Commissioners to act in the King's name. These then opened Parliament which proceeded to legalise the action of the Commissioners and to make the heir-apparent Regent with limited powers. In 1812 he received full royal authority. v. The Regency Question. 1788.
(Lecky v, 382-401.)

Soon after the King's recovery in 1789 the French Revolution broke out. 1810

5. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

- i. *Influence on English Politics*
- ii. *Causes*
 - a Intellectual
 - b Political
 - c Social
 - d Immediate
- iii. *History*
 - (1) Meeting of the "States General" 1789
 1. The Three Estates
 - a. Attitude of the 3rd Estate
 - b. The Oath of the Tennis Court
 - c. The "National Assembly"

2. The Jacobins
 - a. Capture of the Bastille
 - b. Capture of the King
3. English Opinion—Burke's "Reflections" 1790
- (2) The Legislative Assembly 1791
 1. Causes of its Revolutionary spirit
 2. Rise of aggressive attitude
 3. Establishment of the "Commune" 1792
 4. The September Massacres
- (3) The "National Convention" 1792
 1. General aggression
 2. Execution of Louis XVI., 1793
 3. The 1st Coalition
 4. "The Reign of Terror"
 5. French Successes—T. of Basle 1795
- (4) The "Directory" 1795
 1. Reaction in France
 2. War against Austria—T. of Campo Formio 1797
 3. War against England
 - a. Ireland—Hoche's Expedition, 1797; Expedn. of 1798
 - b. Naval—Cape S. Vincent, Texel, Camperdown
 - c. India—Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign: B. of the Nile
- (5) Napoleon "First Consul" 1800
 1. Defeat of Austria: Marengo, Hohenlinden
 2. Alliance with Russia
 3. Attack on England
 - a. Armed Neutrality
 - b. "B. of the Baltic"
 - c. B. of Alexandria
 - d. Peace of Amiens 1802

(Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*; Mrs. Gardiner's *Fr. Revol.*; Symes, *Fr. Revol.*; Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*. cf. Carlyle's *Fr. Revol.* and Mahan's *Sea Power on Fr. Revol.*)

I. Influence on English Politics.) (Lecky vi, 183.)

II. Causes.
a. Intellectual.

The career of Pitt, and the whole history of Europe was profoundly affected by the great movement which became the "French Revolution." (1) It changed the character of Pitt's domestic policy and made him an opponent of Reform; (2) it broke down his policy of Peace and entangled England in a great Continental War; (3) it destroyed the Whig Party: most of the Whigs joined Pitt and became Tories, while the rest found themselves out of harmony with public opinion and therefore unable to influence the course of politics. (4) It postponed Parliamentary Reform for a generation.

The causes of the French Revolution were many. All over Europe there was profound dissatisfaction with existing abuses: kings and statesmen were discussing, and sometimes attempting, reforms: philosophers and writers were everywhere putting forth ideas of religious and political liberty and equality. France had long been the leader of intellectual thought in Europe, and there in particular it was fashionable to profess a zeal for such philosophy. While the country remained full of all sorts of abuses, political as well as social, great admiration was pretended for reforming ideas. These had largely been learnt from England; and the English Revolution of 1688, with its resulting supremacy of Parliament, was much admired.

(Lecky vi, 184-206, 239-265, 362.)

Montesquieu in particular held up England as a model. Voltaire's genius was destructive. He attacked abuses everywhere,—in the Government, in the Church, in the social system; and he did this with such vigour that he undermined respect for authority of all kind, not only that of the Monarchy but also that of religion. It was largely owing to Voltaire's exposure of the corrupt and worldly condition of the French Clergy, that the French Revolution was so atheistic in nature. Diderot was even more definitely hostile to Religion.

It was however Rousseau who gave the movement its enthusiasm and its ideal. His social and political philosophy is full of contradictions and is absolutely without historical basis, but it took extraordinary hold on French imagination. He taught that human nature was originally good, but that it had been spoilt by civilisation. The remedy was a return to primitive simplicity in all directions. He urged this in an *Essay on Inequality* (1753) and immediately fashionable society began to wear simple dresses and to talk about the wrongs of the poor. He applied the same sort of argument to politics in his *Social Contract* (1762). This book taught that once upon a time all the people met together and agreed to obey one of their number, whom they appointed to be king, and to whom in return for the work of governing they gave certain privileges. Obviously, according to the theory of the *Social Contract*, the people were the real source of authority and should be the real makers of laws. Obviously, too, if the king failed to perform his duties properly he should lose his privileges.

All this was harmless enough so long as it was merely a topic of conversation in the fashionable drawing-rooms of Paris, and it harmonised well with the plain dresses and simple habits which his earlier book had brought in.

But the condition of France was such that ideas like these would be sure to have terrible consequences if they filtered down to the common people. It was indeed the attempt of the people to put them into practice that produced the French Revolution.

For the condition of France was thoroughly bad. The king was a despot. The "States General," as the French Parliament was called, had not met since 1614. The nobles had lost all their share in the work of governing but had retained all their privileges. The Clergy, like the nobles, enjoyed privileges quite out of proportion to the work they did. The people were unrepresented in the government and were completely at the mercy of the Seigneurs. They were moreover miserably poor and ignorant. This was mainly due to the fact that most of the taxes were paid by the poor alone, the Seigneurs and the Clergy being exempt. The property tax (*taille*) increased with any improvement which the tenant made.

b, Political.

(Lecky vi, 272.)

c, Social.
(Lecky vi, 279-292.)

The Salt Tax (*Gabelle*) kept that necessary article in the hands of the Government. Industry and thrift were hampered by injurious trade regulations. Poverty and misery reigned supreme. The fields went out of cultivation, and the crowds of beggars and thieves in the cities and towns increased.

d, Immediate.

Many of these abuses had been of long-standing. There were others of more recent growth. Louis XIV.'s great schemes had cost enormous sums, his extravagance had been great, his costly wars had not resulted in any material advantages. The financial condition of the country was bad, and the war against England on behalf of the American Colonies finally produced absolute bankruptcy. There was appalling distress in France, which came to a height in the bad harvest and terrible winter of 1788-9.

Louis XVI. was by nature slothful and incapable, and his policy was weak and changeable, and not calculated to bring real improvement.

All authority in France was discredited and the army was disorganised. The connection with the American struggle for independence had done much to spread ideas of equality among the people at large and had given the example of successful rebellion. Rousseau's theories had in fact filtered down to the common people, and a general demand arose for the summoning of the States General.

III. Its History.

(1.) Meeting of the "States General" 1789.

(Lecky vi. 335-361.)

1. The 3 Estates.

Louis XVI. yielded in the hope of receiving supplies, and in May 1789 the States General met after a period of 175 years. The most prominent among the nobles were Orleans and La Fayette; among the Clergy, the Abbé Maury and Tallyrand; and among the members of the "Third Estate" Mirabeau and the Abbe Sieyès.

a. Attitude of the 3rd Estate.

b. The Oath of the Tennis Court.

The Third Estate insisted on equal powers of voting with the other two combined, and when Louis attempted to dissolve the assembly they adjourned to a neighbouring Tennis Court and bound themselves by an oath not to separate till they had given France a new constitution. Mirabeau was the man who had done most to bind all the Commons together, and soon numbers of the Clergy joined. At length the King himself had to order the other members of the States General to join with the Commons, and to assent to them all sitting together as a *National Assembly*.

c. "The National Assembly."

This quickly began to reform in accordance with the theories of Rousseau. Privileges were abolished and the powers of the King were limited. But it allowed itself to be affected by outside influences, and the revolutionary Jacobin Clubs of Paris and the city mob began to be troublesome. When the King tried to take matters into his own hands, and to bring about practical reforms and to insist on order in the city, important and dramatic events followed in rapid succession.

2. The Jacobins.

a. Capture of the Bastille.

On July 14th came the mob's capture of the Bastille—the fortress which so long had overawed Paris—on Aug. 4th the old Constitution of France was abolished, on Oct. 6th the King was brought by the mob from the palace at Versailles to Paris, a prisoner in the hands of dangerous men.

In England there was general sympathy with the movement for reform in France. Even Pitt approved. Burke alone raised a warning voice, pointing out the danger of making sweeping changes in accordance with untried theories and not based on experience and history.

Before the *Legislative Assembly* met, in accordance with the Constitution which the National Assembly had drawn up, several important things had happened. (1) In the country the peasants had in many places risen against the Seigneurs, and many a chateau had been burnt to the ground. (2) In June 1791 the King and his family attempted to escape from the mob, and out of France. It was badly managed, and they were overtaken at Varennes and brought back in triumph. The chief result was an increase of suspicion, especially in regard to the Queen, Marie Antoinette, daughter of the Emperor Francis I. of Austria, who was already hated as a foreigner. (3) Foreign powers were becoming alarmed at the direction affairs were taking in France, and Prussia and Austria, urged by the Emigrants, as the nobles who had fled from the disturbances were called, drew up the Declaration of Pillnitz (Aug. 1791) calling upon all governments to help to restore Louis. All these things helped to make the *Legislative Assembly* (Oct. 1791—Sept. 1792) far more revolutionary than its predecessor. Moreover (1) all members of the National Assembly were excluded so that it was quite without political experience. (2) The members who had secured election were mostly violent republicans who became known as Girondists from the fact that several of them came from the Department of Gironde. They were men who had everything to hope, and nothing to lose, from the most extreme changes. (3) The death of Mirabeau in April 1791, had removed an influence which was powerful but moderate.

The result was a rapid increase in disorder and revolutionary projects, and also the beginning of a warlike spirit. (1) On the borders the Emigrants were threatening invasion. (2) The Girondists hoped that war would complete the ruin of the Monarchy. (3) They recognised too that continual excitement was the food of revolution, and (4) that a foreign war would divert the attention of those who were not so revolutionary as themselves. (5) They expected moreover that the subjects of foreign monarchies would rise in their support if they proclaimed a "war of subjects against kings."

War was accordingly declared against Austria, the country

b. Capture of the King.
(Lecky vi, 424-430.)

3. English opinion.
(Lecky vi, 365-422, 519-22.)
"Reflections on the French Revolution"
1790.

(2.) The "Legislative Assembly" 1791.
1. Causes of its revolutionary spirit.

(Lecky vi, 474-485, 496-509, 530, 539.)

2. Rise of aggressive attitude.
(Lecky vi, 542-547.)

(Lecky vi, 555, 562-563.)

3. Establishment of
the "Commune."

(Lecky vii, 25.)

of Marie Antoinette, in April 1792. Austria had recently joined with Russia and Prussia in a Partition of Poland, and Prussia now declared war against France. Dumouriez and LaFayette led an army to take the Netherlands from Austria but quarrels broke out among the leaders, both on the field and in the Assembly. The Duke of Brunswick, an able general, led a German army into France, and was joined by the Emigrants. The immediate result was the events of Aug. 10th. The Paris Mob in the dead of night irregularly elected a new City Council called the Commune and then marched to the Palace of the Tuilleries, where Louis was imprisoned. The Swiss Guards, who bravely stood to their posts, were massacred almost to a man and the Palace was sacked. The Assembly was forced to abolish the Monarchy and to issue orders for the election of a National Convention, for which everyone was to have a vote.

4. The September
Massacres.

(Lecky vii, 43-47).

The leaders in the work of Aug. 10th were Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, who openly urged a policy of terrorism as a means of destroying moderation. The army was powerless and there was no efficient police. The "September Massacres" were the result. The Commune usurped absolute power and numbers of persons suspected of being favourable to the King were seized and brought before howling mobs. If they were not speedily able to give proofs of their active sympathy with the Revolution they were quickly put to death, often in horrible ways. There were at least a thousand such victims.

(3.) The "National
Convention," 1792.
7. General aggres-
sion.

(Lecky vii, 41, 50, 85)

The *National Convention* met on Sept. 22nd, 1792. It at once renewed the attempt to spread revolutionary principles by force of arms, on a larger scale and with more success. The Duke of Brunswick was defeated at Valmy. The Austrian Netherlands were conquered by the victory at Jemappes, and the Meuse and the Scheldt were thrown open to all nations. Savoy was captured. Elated by these successes the Convention publicly offered its assistance to all subjects revolting from their rulers. War was declared in Feb. 1793 against England, where public opinion had been gradually changing its estimate of the events in France, and which had become distinctly hostile when, on Jan. 22nd, 1793, Louis XVI. was executed on the guillotine.

2. Execn. of Louis
xvi, 1793.
(Lecky vii, 47.)

3. The 1st Coalition.
(Lecky vii, 164-172;
Stephens, 120-126.)

July 1793.
4. The "Reign of
Terror."

A coalition was formed by Pitt, comprising England, Spain, Holland, Austria and Prussia. At first the war went badly for the French. Dumouriez was defeated at Neerwinden and Valenciennes, and the Austrian Netherlands were lost. In France there were risings in La Vendee and other places in favour of the Church and Monarchy. But a "Committee of Public Safety" was formed with absolute powers in all departments of government, and wholly led by the leading

Terrorists. A "Reign of Terror" began. Horrible atrocities took place. Christianity was forbidden and the worship of "Reason" was substituted. Gross parodies of the Church's services were performed with rioting and drunkenness. The peasants of La Vendee were ruthlessly slaughtered, and all the energies of France were centred on the war. In face of the vast array of enemies she had raised up, France was bound to show a united front. There could be no more opposition to the Government, whatever that might be, till the danger was removed. In this way an immense and universal enthusiasm was aroused, and soon fourteen armies were in the field, containing a million men. The War of the French Revolution thus opened, and the French armies began their career of wonderful success.

They were of course aided by the inevitable divisions which existed among the allies. The various nations were only bound together by motives of self-preservation, and there was little real union. The Austrians were defeated at Wattignies and Fleurus, and Holland was formed into "the Batavian Republic." Many Emigrants were defeated at Quiberon Bay and shot in cold blood by Lazare Hoche.

The 1st Coalition was broken up by the Treaty of Basle which France made with Prussia, and by the withdrawal of Spain. The French dominions were extended to the Rhine. At sea the English navy proved its superiority by the victory Admiral Howe won off Cape Ushant on "the Glorious First of June," and by the capture of various islands in the West Indies. On land England could only help by subsidies, and her commercial prosperity enabled her, throughout the long period of warfare, to lavish money freely on the nations which opposed France.

The Committee of Public Safety had averted foreign and internal danger, and, with England and Austria as the only dangerous enemies, a reaction began in France against the Terrorists. As the need for the vigorous and united action which they had secured passed away, the atrocities they had perpetrated roused a feeling of national disgust. Marat had been assassinated in July 1793; Danton, the man who did not shrink from the most gigantic crimes in the cause of what he considered the salvation of France, was sent to the guillotine in April 1794; and Robespierre, with his genuine and unselfish devotion to the cause of the suffering poor, which gained for him the name of "the Incorruptible," fell in a few months from a position of the greatest influence to one of the greatest hatred. He was mortally wounded in a scuffle, and his mangled body was dragged to the guillotine to which he had sent so many victims (July).

The reaction was felt throughout France. All who had

5. French successes

1795.

(T. of Basle, 1795.

4.) The "Directory
1795.

1. Re-action in
France.

saved anything in the wreck of institutions threw their influence in favour of a return to moderation. The mobs in the towns, and the peasant-risings in the country districts, were repressed, and in Oct. 1795 the establishment of the *Directory* was completed. This was a Constitution based to a large extent on the old, with two chambers. Five Directors, with large powers, occupied the position of the Monarchy. Resistance by the Royalists in Paris, who now began to lift up their heads, was dealt with by a young Corsican officer named Napoleon Buonaparte: he effectively dispersed it by his famous "whiff of grape-shot."

(Morris 22.)

2. War against
Austria.
T. of Campo Formio
1797.

The Directory had to meet the hostility of Austria and England. Buonaparte was sent against the former, whom he quickly defeated and drove out of North Italy. The *Treaty of Campo Formio* was arranged:

(Morris 24-52.)

- a. Austria gave up the Netherlands to France;
- b. Her possessions in North Italy were formed into the "Cisalpine Republic," dependent on France.

3. War against
England.

Less success attended the operations against England. Pitt's attempts at peace were rejected, and Lazare Hoche's expedition to help the Irish (1796), failed through stormy weather to effect a landing. In 1798 a force was landed too late to effect anything. Spain was induced to join France, with whom Holland was now united, and the three Fleets presented a formidable opposition. At the same time England was harassed by the Irish Rebellion and also by mutinies in the navy at Spithead and the Nore, caused by the spread of revolutionary ideas from France and by abuses in the supply of food to the sailors. But Admirals Jervis and Nelson, with 15 ships, defeated the combined Fleets of France and Spain, numbering 27 ships, off Cape S. Vincent in the early part of the year; and in the latter part Admiral Duncan, who had successfully blockaded the Texel with three ships which remained loyal during the mutinies, defeated the Dutch Fleet off Camperdown. The burden of the war was however so serious that the Bank of England had to suspend all payments in cash in 1797, and indeed did not resume them till 1819; and in 1798 Pitt had to levy an increased Land Tax and also, next year, to introduce the Income Tax.

- a, Ireland.

- b, Naval:

(Green 810.)

- B. of Cape S. Vincent

Blockade of Texel.

Victory off Camperdown.

- c, India:

Napoleon's Egyptian
Campaign.

(Morris 57-69.)

B. of the Nile.
(Plan in Gardiner's
Atlas 82; Relch 43.)

The next attack on England was intended to gain her Indian possessions for France. Napoleon Buonaparte, evading Nelson, landed an army in Egypt which he conquered at the Battle of the Pyramids. But Nelson followed him, and, by destroying his fleet at the Battle of the Nile, cut off his supplies and shut up his army in a hostile continent. He was not dismayed, and continued his eastward march. He found his path blocked at Acre by the Turks, who were assisted by English ships and men under Sir Sydney Smith. He failed to

force a way and had to retire to Egypt, whence he hastily returned to France.

The chief result of Napoleon's designs on India had been to arouse the fears of the Eastern powers, and a Coalition was formed against French aggression by England and Austria with Russia and Turkey and afterwards Naples. In Naples the French, after a short period of success, were driven out, and their armies were also defeated in North Italy and in Switzerland.

Napoleon, on his return to France, threw the blame for these defeats on the Directory, and obtained his own appointment to the position of chief authority, as "First Consul." France thus passed under the rule of a military Dictator.

He at once took vigorous measures to break up the new Coalition. He advanced across the Alps against the Austrians and defeated them at Marengo in June. In December his subordinate Moreau defeated them at Hohenlinden. In Feb. 1801, Austria had to make the *Treaty of Luneville*, by which she absolutely surrendered all west of the Rhine. The new King of Naples also made peace, and Russia withdrew from the alliance, chiefly because the Czar, Paul I. (1796—1801) had become a warm admirer of Napoleon. The 2nd Coalition was shattered and England remained alone in open hostility to France.

Napoleon, by skilful diplomacy, persuaded the three Northern Powers, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, to form a Northern Confederation against England. The real intention was to weaken England by attacking her commerce, but the pretended object was to defend the rights of neutrals. England treated this revival of the Armed Neutrality of 1780 as a Declaration of war, and Admirals Parker and Nelson defeated and captured the Danish Fleet under the guns of the forts at Copenhagen in April 1801. The "Battle of the Baltic" and the assassination of the Czar Paul at the same time, broke up the Northern Confederation. In Egypt Sir Ralph Abercrombie finally defeated the army which Napoleon had left in Egypt and compelled it to evacuate the country.

Both France and England were weary of the struggle, in which it appeared neither could defeat, or even effectively reach, the other. It was as though a whale were pitted against an elephant. Napoleon was as superior to all opposition on land, as England was superior on sea. The *Treaty of Amiens* was accordingly concluded in 1802.

a. France withdrew from Naples but retained most of her other conquests in Europe ;

b. England

1. Acknowledged the French Republic

4. The 2nd Coalition 1799.

(Stephens 197.)

(5.) Napoleon "First Consul" 1800.

(Morris 77-88.)

1. Defeat of Austria :

(Morris 90-97.)

Marengo.

Hohenlinden.

2. Alliance with Russia :

(Stephens 207, 217)

3. Attack on England :

a. Armed Neutrality (Stephens 222.)

b. "B. of the Baltic" 1801.

(Plan in Gardiner's *Atlas* 83; Reich 43.)

c. B. of Alexandria.

d. P. of Amiens 1802.

(Stephens 225 ;
Morris 102 ;
Green 819.)

2. Abandoned the title of " King of France " which English Kings had used since the reign of Edward III. ;
3. Agreed to restore all conquests, such as the Cape of Good Hope (1795), Malta, etc., which her navy had taken from France and her allies, except Trinidad and Ceylon.

6. NAPOLEON.

- i. *His Importance*
 - ii. *The Emperor Napoleon 1804—14*
 1. His proposed Invasion of England—B. of Trafalgar
 2. The 3rd Coalition 1805,—Ulm, Austerlitz
 3. Death of Pitt 1806
 - a. His aims
 - b. His Parliamentary Leadership
 - c. Financial Policy
 - d. Contribution to Constitutional History
 - e. Foreign Policy
 4. " Ministry of All the Talents " 1806-7,—Abolition of Slavery 1807
 5. Canning and Castlereagh 1807
 6. Napoleon remodels Europe—Jena, T. of Tilsit
 7. His attack on England
 - a. The Baltic Trade 1807—" Berlin Decrees," " Orders in Council " B. of Copenhagen
 - b. The Portugal Trade—Annexation of Spain 1808, Rise of National Opposition
 8. The Peninsular War 1808—14
 1808. Vimiero, Convention of Cintra
 1809. Corunna, Talavera
 1810. Torres Vedras
 1812. Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca
 1813. Vittoria, Pyrenees
 1814. Toulouse
 9. Europe during the Peninsular War
 - a. Austria : P. of Vienna 1809
 - b. Italy
 - c. Holland and Germany
 - d. Prussia : the Moscow Campaign 1812
 - [e. The American War 1812—14]
 - f. The 4th Coalition : 1813—Lutzen, Leipzig
- 1814—Invasion of France, 1st T. of Paris,
1st Abdication of Napoleon
- iii. *Napoleon's last bid for Success.*
 - a. Its causes
 - b. The " Hundred Days " 1815—Ligny, Quatre Bras, Waterloo
 - c. Napoleon's 2nd Abdication—2nd T. of Paris
 - d. The Congress of Vienna

His Importance.
(Morris, *Napoleon*;
Seeley's *Napoleon I.*)

By this time Napoleon had made himself the centre of interest on the European stage upon which he had so recently stepped. He had already twice shattered the united foes of France. He had surpassed all soldiers of his age in military skill. He had changed the weakness of France into strength. He had raised upon the ruins of the Revolution a firm and

orderly government, and he had given the French a new ideal. (Morris 103, 405-18.)

The Revolutionary Wars had begun with the object of spreading revolutionary doctrines : Napoleon continued and extended them with the magnificent aim of making France the mistress of Europe. Her own limits were to be the " natural boundaries " of the Rhine and the Alps, and the rest of Europe was to be under her subjection. It was no wonder that with such aims, and with remarkable success in carrying them out, he should have been the object of excessive admiration to the French and of excessive fear and hatred to others. For many years his movements overshadowed all other interests in Europe. He was the idol of Frenchmen ; he was a nightmare to those with whom he was at war.

It was not likely he would rest long contented with his past achievements or present position. He immediately set to work to form Holland, Switzerland, and North Italy into Republics under the control of France, and Germany was re-organised with the object of securing French control throughout its States. The fears these measures aroused made England hesitate to restore Malta and war was again declared. Napoleon at once seized some 12,000 English whom the Peace had attracted to France. This, and his evident design to foment rebellion in Ireland, united England against him. The Volunteer Movement began, and Pitt, who had retired in 1801 in consequence of George III.'s opposition to his proposals for Roman Catholic Relief, returned to office. At the same moment Napoleon was declared Emperor of the French.

(Morris 120-124.)

1803.

1804.

He at once made elaborate preparations for the invasion of England, recognising that so long as she remained unconquered his dreams of universal dominion could not be realised. An immense army was collected at Boulogne and a great fleet of flat-bottomed boats was prepared to transport it across the Channel. The one obstacle was the English Navy, which blockaded the coast of France. He made an alliance with Spain which brought to his aid the Spanish Fleet, and he tried to entice the vigilant watchers away from the Channel by pretending to attack the English possessions in the West Indies. Villeneuve broke through the blockade of Toulon. He sailed westward to draw off Nelson, eluded the pursuit, and returned to Europe. He feared however to enter the Channel and dallied in the harbours of Spain. When at last he ventured out his fleet was destroyed by Nelson and Collingwood off Cape Trafalgar, and Napoleon's scheme for the invasion of England was ruined.

ii. Emperor 1804-14

i. His proposed Invasion of England.

(Morris 135-145, 161.

Green 820.)

B. of Trafalgar.
(Plan in Gardiner's
Atlas 84, Reich 43.)

Pitt then succeeded in forming the 3rd Coalition against France. It included England, Russia, and Austria. Napoleon turned his army of invasion against the two latter. Austria was quickly defeated at Ulm and practically the whole of her

2. The 3rd Coalition
1805.

(Stephens 301.
Morris 170.)

Ulm.

Austerlitz.

main army captured. Vienna was occupied, and shortly afterwards the combined Russian and Austrian forces were shattered at Austerlitz. Austria made Peace with Napoleon, and the 3rd Coalition was broken up. The effect on Pitt's failing health was fatal. He was unable to bear the breakdown of his plans, and died in January, 1806.

3. D. of Pitt 1806.
(Rosebery's *Pitt*:
Green 790-822.)

Lecky v, 266-348.)

a, His aims.

b, Parliamentary
Leadership.

c, Financial Policy.

d, Contribution to
Constitutional
History.

(i.) Prime Minister.

(ii.) Cabinet.

(iii.) Parliament.

a, H. of Commons.

b, H. of Lords.

c, Foreign Policy.

Pitt was happier in his objects than in his achievements. He held wise and enlightened opinions but the times were against him. His schemes of Parliamentary Reform, Roman Catholic Relief, Irish commercial and religious equality, and Slave Emancipation, difficult enough in themselves, were ruined by the outbreak of the French Revolution which made Englishmen in general afraid of changes of any kind.

As a Parliamentary leader he was hard-working and conscientious, with good political judgment, and perfect debating powers. In his Financial Policy he largely adopted the Free Trade principles taught by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* (published 1776), and put them into practice in the Commercial Treaty he concluded with France in 1786. He effected many small reforms, especially in regard to Public Accounts, the Post Office, and smuggling, but his plan of a Sinking Fund for the reduction of the National Debt (1786) had to be abandoned in consequence of the outbreak of the French War.

He left great and permanent marks on the Constitution.

I. The position of the Prime Minister was made more independent.

(a) Confident in the support of the country and Parliament, he conducted affairs with much less regard to the King's views than previous statesmen had shown.

(b) His own self-confidence, and a certain avarice of power, led him to disregard his fellow-ministers in much the same way as Walpole.

(c) His action in the Regency question decided that during the incapacity of the Sovereign the practical government devolves on the Prime Minister.

2. One effect of all this was that a divided Cabinet was no longer possible. The members must all agree both with the Prime Minister and with one another.

3. (a) His disapproval of, and independence of, Corruption, put an end to *direct* bribery of members of Parliament.

(b) His lavish creation of Peerages both (1) changed the political attitude of the House of Lords, which became much more Tory in opinion; and (2) lowered its intellectual level.

His foreign policy was based upon the principle of the Balance of Power and was mainly directed to checking French

ambition. Though his Continental Allies failed him, he was able to do much by means of the English Navy. Napoleon's schemes were repeatedly defeated by a series of splendid victories, and effective barriers were raised by a series of valuable strategic conquests. When Pitt died he had foiled the scheme of invasion, he had destroyed Napoleon's hopes of using Ireland as a stepping-stone to England, he had secured English supremacy in the Mediterranean by the conquest of Malta, and he had barred the way to India by the establishment of English power at the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon.

His loss was felt to be so serious at such a dangerous time that Lord Grenville who succeeded him included in the Ministry men of all parties, so as to form a strong and national Cabinet. Even Fox was admitted and became Foreign Minister. He had all along sympathised with the French Revolution and earnestly tried to make peace. His efforts were doomed to disappointment, and he himself was brought to realise that Napoleon would be content with nothing short of European supremacy. He died in a few months. Through his influence however an Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in English dominions was passed. The Ministry fell almost at the same time through trying to carry a measure of Roman Catholic Relief in opposition to the King's wishes. The General Election showed that the country was equally against the proposal, and the Portland Ministry succeeded, with Canning as Foreign Secretary and Lord Castlereagh Secretary of War. Both had been followers of Pitt.

When the 3rd Coalition was shattered Pitt said, pointing to a map of Europe which hung on the wall, "roll it up: it will not be wanted for ten years." Napoleon's action justified the words. He at once set to work to remodel Europe, surrounding France with dependent States which should serve as barriers against possible enemies, and as stepping-stones to further conquests. The German Empire—"the Holy Roman Empire"—was dissolved and the Rhine States made into a Confederation under French rule. The military pride of Prussia impelled her to challenge Napoleon single-handed, but she was hopelessly beaten at the Battles of Jena and Auerstadt. Russia, which had throughout been changeable, was won over by the *Treaty of Tilsit*, which enabled her to extend her territories at the cost of Finland in the North and Turkey in the South. Then he struck another blow at England and naturally aimed it at her trade and shipping, recognising that her strength lay in these. By the "Berlin Decrees" he tried to establish the "Continental System" throughout Europe.

a. All intercourse with the British Isles was forbidden.

b. British ships were forbidden to come to any Continental Port.

4. "Ministry of All the Talents" 1806-7

(Green 822.)

Aboln. of Slavery. 1807.

(Lecky vii, 357-379.)

5. Canning and Castlereagh 1807,

6. Napoleon remodels Europe. (Stephens, 254-60. Morris 187-198. Map in Gardiner's *Atlas* 55.) Jena.

1807.

T. of Tilsit. Morris 215.

7. His attack on England. a. Baltic Trade. "Berlin Decrees."

(Morris 199. Stephens 222, 251.)

c. All British Manufactures were forbidden to be used.

It was impossible to enforce these orders. (a) At a time when England was by far the greatest manufacturing country in Europe, the other nations could not afford to do without her trade. Moreover (b) the superiority of her navy was such that she was able to retaliate effectively by the "Orders in Council," authorising the seizure of vessels trading with France or her allies. (c) The result was a great rise in prices on the Continent which affected all classes and provoked a strong reaction against Napoleon. When he attempted to force Denmark into alliance, in order to obtain her fleet, England insisted that the ships should be placed in English hands and enforced agreement by bombarding Copenhagen.

B. of Copenhagen
1807.

The three great seats of English trade in Europe were the Levant, the Baltic, and Portugal. The expedition to Egypt had proved it was impossible to destroy the English trade in the Levant; the Armed Neutrality was Napoleon's attempt to destroy that in the Baltic; he next determined to strike against that with Portugal.

b, Portugal trade.

His first move was to remove the Bourbons from the throne of Spain. He enticed the King of Spain, Charles IV., into the *Treaty of Fontainebleau* by which the Partition of Portugal was arranged, and then, having brought French troops under the pretence of joining the Spaniards in carrying this out, he took advantage of quarrels between Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand to force both to abdicate. His brother Joseph Buonaparte was made King of Spain.

(Morris 221-7.
Green 824-27.)

Annexation of Spain
1808.

The coronation of Joseph was a fatal mistake. Napoleon had already roused much opposition by his commercial policy, which touched the pockets of every man in Europe: he now awoke an even more dangerous opposition by insulting national pride. Henceforth he had to fight, not against Royal Families struggling for possessions which they often deserved to lose, but against peoples fighting for national independence.

Rise of National
opposition.

8. The Peninsular
War 1808-14.
(Napier: Hooper,
Wellington. Maps in
Gardiner's *Atlas* 56,
Reich 45)
Viniero 1808.
Convention of
Cintra 1808.
Corunna 1809.

English help was speedily sent to the Peninsula, and Sir Arthur Wellesley defeated the French under Junot at the battle of Vimiero. By the *Convention of Cintra* Junot had to agree to leave Portugal. Sir John Moore advanced into Spain but Napoleon himself came thither and the Spaniards proved worthless allies, so Moore had to retreat. Soult followed him, but his retreat to the coast was masterly and on January 16th, 1809, he defeated Soult at Corunna while waiting for the fleet which was to carry his troops to more promising fields of action in the south of Spain. He himself was killed during the battle.

(1809)

A declaration of war by Austria forced Napoleon to leave the French troops in Spain under the direction of Soult and Massena, and Wellesley was again placed in command of the English there. He defeated the French again at Talavera but

Talavera.

SPAIN & PORTUGAL



saw that he could not hold the country in consequence of the untrustworthiness of his Spanish allies. He accordingly withdrew to Portugal and threw up the elaborate earthworks round Lisbon called the Lines of Torres Vedras, resolving to act on the defensive and to wear out the French by a policy of inaction. The strip of country 10 miles wide behind the first line was devastated so as to afford no support to the French : the 3rd line was intended to cover the embarkation of the troops if they were driven back to it. Massena however failed to pierce the first line and at length in 1811 retired.

1810.
Torres Vedras.

Wellington then advanced to the borders of Spain. The two main entrances into Spain were guarded by the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Both were stormed and captured, though with immense losses. He then advanced against the French army at Salamanca and brilliantly defeated it. The result was to secure the south and middle of Spain, and Madrid was entered in triumph. He advanced to Burgos, a great arsenal in the north of Spain, but it defied all his efforts to capture it, and when Soult began to advance he felt that he was too far advanced to be able to face him with safety. Once more he was obliged to retreat into Portugal. Next year, however, he was again able to advance. Napoleon had weakened the French force by withdrawing troops for the expedition to Russia; Soult had to be sent to oppose Prussia

Ciudad Rodrigo
1812.
Badajoz.

Salamanca.

X

which had risen, and the other French Generals were less capable and were, moreover jealous of one another; the Spanish risings increased in strength. Wellington advanced northwards against Joseph, aided by the English Fleet which operated in the Bay of Biscay, and defeated him at Vittoria, driving him back towards France. Too late Soult was sent to repair the disaster. Wellington pushed on and won victory after victory in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, and early in 1814 the Battle of Toulouse finally drove Soult and the French out of Spain.

Vittoria 1813.

Pyrenees.

Toulouse 1814.

9. Europe during
the Peninsular
War.

(Map in Gardiner's
Atlas 57.)

Meanwhile great events had been happening in other parts of Europe, and to the general success which everywhere began to attend the opposition to Napoleon, Wellington's victories contributed in no small degree. He showed as no one else was able to do that the French were not invincible, and in this way the other States were encouraged in their resistance. Thus the "Wars of Liberation" of 1813 were the direct outcome of the Peninsular War.

a. Austria.

P. of Vienna
1809.

(Morris 238-252.)

When Austria declared war in 1809 Napoleon quickly defeated her at Aspern and Wagram and forced her to make the Peace of Vienna by which he gave portions of her lands to his allies Russia and Bavaria. He added to her humiliation by marrying the Emperor's daughter Marie Louise, divorcing his wife Josephine Beauharnais for the purpose.

b. Italy.

c. Holland and
Germany.

In the same year he annexed to France the Papal States, and the following year Holland and the North German coastline as far as the Baltic. The French Empire thus reached its greatest extent.

d. Russia :

(Morris 274-288.

Map in Gardiner's
Atlas 58.)

In 1810 the Czar Alexander withdrew from the Continental System.

a. Russia could not do without English trade.

b. Napoleon's rearrangements of the map of Europe were too high-handed to be tolerated.

c. His marriage alliance with Austria was dangerous to Russia.

The Moscow
Campaign.

In 1812 Napoleon accordingly invaded Russia, intending to crush her armies. The difficulties of transport proved insuperable on account of the size and character of the country. Napoleon reached Moscow without coming in contact with the Russian armies and destitute of provisions, and the citizens there deprived him of shelter and food by setting the city on fire. In the depth of winter and along the route which his advance had already cleared of provisions he had to retreat, continually harassed by Russian sallies. The sufferings of his army were terrible, and out of half a million men who entered Russia at his back not 80,000 escaped, most of them useless for further service.

On his return he found that the Prussians had thrown off the

French yoke and had revolted. They allied with the exultant Russians who had followed their retreating foe, and also with England, who, however, meanwhile were hampered by a war which had broken out with the United States.

e. American War
1812-14.
(Green 827, 832.)

(a) The ill-feeling between the Americans and the English had by no means been ended when the War of Independence ceased, and they found a fresh grievance in (b) the Orders in Council. These, though aimed at France, of course pressed hardly on neutral nations, among others the United States. The Americans (c) still bore ill-feeling towards the mother-country and desired to add Canada to their number and invaded its territories. Moreover (d) Napoleon had become popular by selling to them Louisiana which he had recently obtained from Spain. The war mainly consisted of a series of fights between individual ships—of which that between H.M.S. Shannon and the Chesapeake (1813) was the most famous. In retaliation for the invasion of Canada Washington was bombarded, but an attempt by a force of Peninsular veterans to take New Orleans was repulsed. The unsatisfactory war was ended by the *Treaty of Ghent* (1814), but it left a legacy of increased ill-feeling on both sides.

Napoleon's regular troops had everywhere been destroyed, but his military genius enabled him to collect an army of raw youths and with these he defeated the allies at Lutzen. England sent immense subsidies to enable them to continue the struggle, and Austria was prevailed upon, chiefly in consequence of Wellington's victory at Vittoria, to join the Alliance. The result was the crushing defeat of Napoleon after three days hard fighting, at the Battle of Leipzig.

f. The 4th Coalition
1813.
(Morris 290-352.)
Lutzen.

Leipzig.

Still he refused to accept the terms of peace which were offered him. These were :

- a. The restriction of France to her "natural boundaries" of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees ;
- b. The acknowledgement of the Independence of Germany, Holland, Spain, and Italy.

Consequently the Allies advanced into France and penetrated to Paris. There they insisted on the abdication of Napoleon and the coronation of Louis XVIII. Napoleon retired to Elba, and the Congress of Vienna met to arrange the settlement of Europe.

Invasion of France
1814.
T. of Paris.
Napoleon's 1st
Abdication.

The sittings of the Statesmen at Vienna were rudely interrupted by startling news. Napoleon (a) stirred by his restless ambition, and (b) hearing of the dissatisfaction with which the French had received the restored Bourbons, (c) and of the dissensions which attended the conferences at Vienna, suddenly escaped from Elba. He was (d) enthusiastically welcomed by the French. His veteran soldiers whom he had so often led to victory, and whom the recent peace had liberated from their

Napoleon's last bid
for success.
a. Its causes.

(Morris 361.)

b. The "Hundred Days" 1815. prisons, quickly gathered round him. For a "Hundred Days" he was again Emperor of the French.

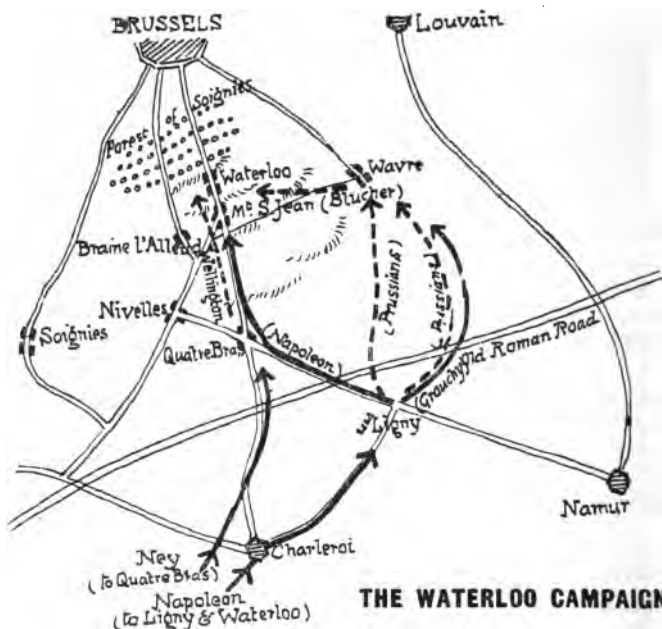
(Morris 370-385.)

The Allies advanced with what haste they could against him. The English (under Wellington) and the Prussians (under Blücher) were naturally first in the field, and Napoleon's hope lay in defeating these separately before they had time to unite and before the Austrians and Russians could move.

(Map in Gardiner's
Atlas 85.
Reich 46.)

Wellington's troops were in Belgium guarding the French frontier from the sea to Charleroi; Blücher's stretched from there eastwards. Napoleon marched first against Blücher, intending to drive him off and then to fall on Wellington. He drove him from Ligny, but the Prussians, instead of retiring to

Ligny.



Namur as Napoleon was led to suppose, and whither he sent a force under Grouchy, only fell back on Wavre, as had been previously arranged. Grouchy's troops were in consequence useless, and by another serious mistake, a further force under D'Erlon was also unused.

Quatre Bras.

Ney had been sent to hold Wellington but he failed to dislodge the English from their position at Quatre Bras, and Napoleon himself, two days later, attacked them.

Waterloo
(Plans in Gardiner's
Atlas 86, 87.)

Wellington carefully chose his position on a slight ridge which lies across the two roads from Mons and Charleroi to Brussels. The Chateau of Hougomont was fortified as an

outpost on his right, and the farm buildings of La Haye Sainte on his centre. The road to Wavre, along the ridge, enabled him easily to move his forces, and the slight dip in the ground behind it hid these movements from Napoleon. Wellington's plan was to act on the defensive till the Prussian reinforcements should arrive from Wavre.



The French attack began by a furious assault on Hougoumont, which Napoleon continued long after it had become evident that it could not be taken. Its successful resistance not only occupied the attention of many troops during much valuable time but also secured the safety of the English right. Napoleon's attack on Wellington's centre was repulsed after a fierce struggle, and the successive charges of the French cavalry under Ney were again and again rendered futile by the firmness of the English infantry-squares. Throughout the long summer afternoon the assault went on, until about 6 o'clock news was brought to Napoleon that Blucher's forces, whom he supposed were far away, were actually appearing on his right. Grouchy, too late, tried in vain to hold them back by a rear attack. They advanced first upon the village of Planchenoit, which Napoleon for a time prevented them from occupying, while

(Morris 385 89.
Green 834-6.)

Ney, by great efforts, drove the English from La Haye Sainte. But Blücher's troops were by that time in touch with Wellington's left, and Napoleon made a last effort by ordering the Imperial Guard to charge the English centre. Its failure in face of the terrible fire of musketry with which it was received, decided the fate of the day. Wellington gave the word for a general advance all along the line, and the defeat rapidly became a rout in which the Prussian cavalry did much execution.

c. Napoleon's 2nd
Abdication.

Napoleon himself fled hurriedly to Paris where he abdicated a second time and surrendered to the commander of the English ship *Bellerophon* off Rochefort. He was presently sent to the lonely island of S. Helena, where he died in 1821.

2nd T. of Paris.

The Allies again occupied Paris, and the 2nd Treaty of Paris was drawn up.

Congress of
Vienna.

The Congress of Vienna was resumed and at length finished its arrangements.

(Stephens 354.
Map in Gardiner's
Atlas 50.)

i. To erect Barriers against French aggression :

a. The Kingdom of the Netherlands was formed by uniting Holland and Belgium.

b. The German States were formed into a Confederacy under the presidency of Austria.

ii. To punish France :

a. Her territory was restricted to its limits in 1789.

b. A heavy fine was imposed upon her.

c. All pictures and works of art which had been accumulated during the wars were to be returned to their owners.

iii. To recompense the Allies

a. Prussia obtained lands on the Rhine and in Saxony.

b. Russia obtained all that remained of Poland.

c. Austria obtained Lombardy and Venetia.

d. England was confirmed in her possession of Heligoland, Malta, and the Ionian Islands, Cape Colony, Mauritius, Tobago and S. Lucia in the West Indies, and conquests on the mainland of Guiana.

7. THE UNION WITH IRELAND.

i. *The Protestant Ascendancy*

1. The Penal Code (1692—1734)—“ the Violated Treaty ” of Limerick.

2. The Commercial Code

3. Absentee Landlords

ii. *The “ Home Rule ” Movement*

a. Agrarian outrages

b. Parliamentary agitation : Flood and Grattan

c. The American Revolt

d. The Irish Volunteers 1779

e. Convention of Dungannon 1782

f. Act of Renunciation 1783

iii. *“ Grattan's Parliament ”* 1782—1800

a. Inherent difficulties

- b. Liability to English "influence"
- c. Suspicion of England
- d. French Revolution increases disloyalty—the Regency dispute 1789
- e. Religious factions—"Battle of Diamond"—the Orangemen—the United Irishmen
- f. Attempts at Reform
 - 1. Pitt's Relief Acts 1792-3
 - 2. Commercial and Parliamentary Reforms
- g. Attempts at repression
- h. Fitz-William's attempt at conciliation
- iv. *The Irish Rebellion of '98*—the Battle of Vinegar Hill 1798
- v. *The Union with Ireland* 1800
 - a. Its motives
 - b. Its methods
 - c. Its provisions
 - d. Criticism.

If Pitt had made himself memorable in no other way he would have done so by his Irish Policy. The Act of Union with Ireland which he carried through still stands. Many approve of it and many disapprove, but few remember that it only represents a portion of the work he desired to accomplish for remedying the many wrongs under which Ireland laboured. Few give him credit for grappling with a great problem which had long defied, as it still defies, a satisfactory settlement.

The result of William III.'s defeat of the Irish rising on behalf of James II. was the adoption of a policy of severe repression. (1) The Irish were nearly all Roman Catholics, except in a portion of Ulster; but the *Penal Code*, as the measures are called which began in 1692 and continued till 1734, shut out all Roman Catholics from voting or sitting in the Irish Parliament, from all offices, and from most professions. It also did much to prevent them from holding land, and imposed severe restrictions on public worship.

(2) At the same time the *Commercial Code* imposed restrictions on Irish trade to prevent it from competing with that of England. Shipbuilding, the exportation of horses, cattle, wool, woollen goods and flax, were in turn hampered and injured. (3) Irish landlords lived in England where they spent the rents they received from their poverty-stricken tenants. The Irish were kept poor as well as discontented; many emigrated, some to fight for France against England; the rest were gradually united against England.

No lawful means of venting grievances being allowed, secret Societies arose, and these were forced to adopt extreme and illegal methods. In the south men called "whiteboys," from the garments they wore, committed outrages at night on the cattle of the landlords, and in the north the same things were done by the "Oakboys" who wore oakleaves on these errands.

Even the Irish Parliament, though under the control of the

(Lecky. *Ireland in xviii. Cent.* : May ch. 16; Morris *Ireland*: Rosebery, Pitt 172; Dunlop, *Grattan*; Green 811-815.)

i. *The Protestant Ascendancy.*

i. Penal Code.

"The violated Treaty of Limerick" 1692.

2. Commercial Code

3. Absentee Landlords.

ii. *Home Rule movement.*

a. Agrarian outrages

b. Parliamentary agitation:

English Government and the English Parliament (by "Poynings Law" of 1495) and as corrupt as the Parliament at Westminster, began to be restive, especially when Henry Flood, and afterwards Henry Grattan, took up the cause of Irish grievances.

Flood and Grattan.

c. The American Revolt.

d. The Irish Volunteers 1779.

e. Convention of Dungannon 1782.

f. Act of Renunciation 1783.

iii. "Grattan's Parliament 1782-1800.

a. Its inherent difficulties.

1. Personal union only.

2. R.C.'s excluded.

3. Restricted Franchise.

4. Prevalence of corruption.

b Liability to English influence.

The revolt of the American Colonies had great effects in Ireland. It not only gave an example to be copied, but opened the way for copying it. The needs of the war caused the troops to be withdrawn, and the English Government had to allow Volunteers to be raised and armed to defend the coast against the ravages of Paul Jones and French privateers. Roman Catholics were of course excluded, but Grattan soon found he could make use of the large armed body to support the demands of his party in Parliament. Some of the restrictions on Irish trade were removed in 1780, but the loud clamours continued for the independence of the Irish Parliament. In 1781, just when the news of the surrender of the English forces at Yorktown became known, the Irish Lord Lieutenant asserted that "Home Rule," as we now call it, was "the creed of the whole country." In 1782 the Volunteers of Ulster met in "the Convention of Dungannon," and demanded the abolition of corruption and Court influence by the establishment of the Parliamentary and Commercial Independence of Ireland. The English Parliament, under the influence of Shelburne, had to pass the Act of Renunciation, renouncing the right to legislate for Ireland.

A new period now began. Ireland had the same King as the rest of the British Isles, but otherwise was independent. It was like Scotland from 1603 to 1707, or like Norway and Sweden until a few years ago, and difficulties soon appeared similar to those which marked the histories of those countries.

(1) There was no proper means for ensuring agreement between the two Parliaments. In Ireland moreover there were further difficulties which have already been mentioned.

(2) The Parliament only professed to represent the Protestants and these were in an insignificant minority: the mass of the people were altogether excluded by the Penal Code. Moreover (3) so few people had votes, and (4) corruption was so rampant, that only a small fraction even of the Protestant minority was in any sense represented in Parliament.

The English Government, harassed by foreign enemies, could not afford to let the Irish go their own way, and resorted to all kinds of bribery and corruption, which "Grattan's Parliament"—as the Irish "Home Rule" Parliament was called,—was only too ready to receive. The "Home Rule" remedy proved to be worse than the disease.

Even in spite of English bribery there were not a few examples of the difficulties of the situation. Pitt's attempt to

(Trade Bill 1785.)

remove restrictions on trade was rejected, and his effort to obtain a regular contribution from Ireland towards the Navy was resented under the quite unjust impression that it was a new assertion of English supremacy. As the French Revolution developed, ideas similar to those of the Revolutionists spread in Ireland, and "disloyalty" towards England increased. Among many incidents which showed this, one was especially dangerous. In 1789 Fox's proposals about the Regency were very warmly welcomed in Ireland mainly because they were not acceptable to the English Government, and under the influence of Grattan the Prince of Wales was made Regent in case George III. should become incapable of ruling. If this had actually been carried out the position might have been serious for the Ruler in Ireland would have been a different person from the Ruler in England, and the one link between the two countries would have been removed.

The fear of such an event had produced the Act of Union with Scotland (1707), and after 1789 Pitt began to see that there must be a similar Act of Union with Ireland.

Other things too showed that "Home Rule" could not continue. Disputes between Protestants and Roman Catholics became increasingly bitter. The houses of Roman Catholics were violently searched before daybreak for concealed arms by the Protestant "Peep-o'-day-Boys," and when these were opposed by the "Defenders" violent conflicts took place. In 1795 a regular pitched battle was fought at Diamond in County Armagh with the loss of many lives. The Protestants then organised themselves as "Orangemen," taking their name from their hero William III. Prince of Orange, and religious bitterness increased.

The "Society of United Irishmen" was founded in Belfast on the Anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille (July 14) in 1791 by a freethinker named Wolfe Tone. Its pretended design was to unite Protestants and Romanists in a joint movement for national liberty, but it was really opposed to the Roman Catholics. Wolfe Tone tried to convert the Volunteers into a "National Guard" on French lines, and to begin an Irish Revolution in imitation of the French. In 1792 a meeting of Roman Catholics at Dublin, called the Back Lane Convention, demanded freedom of worship for the holders of their faith. The "Whiteboys" revived in 1786 under the name of "Rightboys."

The English Government was bound to take notice of these proceedings. In 1792-3 Pitt passed two "Relief Acts." These swept away many restrictions on worship and education, and allowed other rights. There were also some commercial and Parliamentary Reforms. On the other hand "unlawful assemblies" were forbidden, the Volunteers were disbanded,

- c. Suspicion of England.
- d. The French Revolution increases Disloyalty.

Regency Dispute 1789.

- e. Religious factions.

"Battle of Diamond."

The Orangemen.

The United Irishmen.

- f. Attempts at Reform.
- 1. Pitt's Relief Acts 1792-3.
- 2. Commercial and Parliamentary Reforms.
- e. Attempts at Repression.

h. Fitz-William's attempt at conciliation, 1795.

and the "United Irishmen" were suppressed. But when Earl FitzWilliam became Lord Lieutenant and attempted some genuine reforms, the religious scruples of George III. were aroused by his proposals to admit Roman Catholics to the Irish Parliament and Pitt had to recall FitzWilliam after a residence of 80 days only. This meant the formal abandonment of Parliamentary Reform and Roman Catholic Emancipation. Open rebellion followed.

iv. *The Irish Rebellion of '98.*

The Society of United Irishmen had continued as a secret society and began negotiations with the Revolutionists in France. Lazare Hoche, a French General, planned a fresh expedition to help them in 1796, but a storm dispersed it. Admiral Duncan's victory off Camperdown ruined similar plans in 1797 and the "United Irishmen" took matters into their own hands. A great insurrection was planned for 1798 but the leaders were seized with much violence, and the camp of the Wexford men at Vinegar Hill had to be taken by storm by the Yeomanry under General Lake. Too late the French arrived, a thousand strong, and defeated Lake at the "Race of Castlebar," but Lord Cornwallis, who had been transferred to Ireland from America, forced them to surrender. Wolfe Tone was captured also, and committed suicide, and the rebellion collapsed.

"The battle of Vinegar Hill" 1798.

v. *The Union with Ireland 1800.*

a. Its motives.

The rule of the Protestants had completely failed. To place the government in the hands of the Roman Catholics would have been an equally certain failure, for they would have used their enormous majority to wreak a not undeserved vengeance on their Protestant oppressors. It appeared to Pitt that the only way out of the difficulty was to establish a government for Ireland which should be free from the passions of Irish religious parties. He proposed to do this by (a) admitting Roman Catholics to Parliament, and (b) uniting the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. The latter provision would prevent the danger which was feared from the former.

6. Its methods.

By dint of wholesale bribery, such as the expenditure of a million and a half in the purchase of seats, the latter proposal was carried though the Irish Parliament but George III. absolutely forbade the former to be proposed. Pitt's measure was therefore robbed of half of the benefits he desired to grant, and must be judged accordingly.

c. Its provisions.

Its provisions were as follows :—

1. *Parliamentary.* Ireland was to be represented in the Parliament of the United Kingdom by 4 spiritual lords, 28 temporal peers elected for life by the Irish Peerage, and 100 members of the House of Commons.
2. *Financial.* The National Debt of Ireland was to be kept distinct, and Ireland was to contribute two-fifteenths of the Revenue of the United Kingdom.

3. *Trade.* Ireland was to be on terms of equality with Great Britain.

Although this Union has lasted, with unimportant modifications, to the present day, it has never been popular in Ireland. d. Criticism.

(a) Its failure to grant liberty to the Roman Catholic majority (till 1829) prevented it from being favourably received by the Irish people as a whole. (b) It was carried through by disgraceful means, (c) It sacrificed Irish nationality without giving any compensating advantages. While, therefore, the Union with Scotland paved the way for friendship and harmony (Lecky's Eng. ii. 302) between the two nations, the Union with Ireland left a legacy of discord and discontent.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY, 1715—1832.

I. INDIFFERENCE AND TOLERATION.

- i. *Causes of Decline*
 - a Universal disappointment of ideals
 - b Political repression of enthusiasm and activity
- ii. *The Silencing of Convocation* : 'the Bangorian Controversy' "
 - Its disastrous consequences
- iii. *The Deistic Controversy*
- iv. *Growth of Toleration*
 - a Early efforts
 - b Postponement
 - c Reform
- v. *The Attitude of Churchmen*

2. THE WESLEYANS.

- i. *General Awakening.*
- ii. *The Methodists*
- iii. *Wesley*
 - a Causes of opposition
 - b Results of opposition
 - c Development of separation
- iv. *The Wesleyan Schism*

3. THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL.

- i. Its character
- ii. Its work
- iii. Its results

I. INDIFFERENCE AND TOLERATION.

The accession of George I. marked the beginning of an age of indifference to higher things. Ideals of all kinds had been shattered.

- (a) The Stuart ideal of a beneficent autocrat, held by such men as Falkland, and described by Charles I. in the words "there is no fairer form of liberty than under a pious king," had been discredited by the incapacity of the earlier Stuarts and by the easy way in which it degenerated into tyranny under the later.
- (b) The parliamentary ideal of such men as Pym had been shattered by the tyranny of the Long Parliament.
- (c) The religious ideal of Laud, of a National Church, Catholic in doctrine though free from Papal abuses, was hopeless from its novelty, was unacceptable both to Roman Catholics and Protestants, and had been ruined by his connection with arbitrary and unpopular government.
- (d) The Puritan ideal of liberty of religion was shattered by the intolerance of its professors in their day of power, which provoked a natural desire for revenge in those they had persecuted when their turn of power came back.

Wakeman, *oh.* 19, 20
Lecky *ch.* 8.

May *ch.* 12, 13, 14.

i. *Causes of decline.*
(Green 735.)

a, Universal dis-
appointment of
ideals.

The struggles of all these in the past had left men weary of controversy. All attempts at reform seemed equally to have failed, and zeal and enthusiasm fell consequently into disfavour.

The age is well represented by the Test Act (1673) and the effects it produced. It kept out the honest but admitted the lax and the hypocrite, and dulled the religious and moral instinct of the nation which was content to have it so.

Political causes worked in the same direction. The clergy had, as a whole, taken the Stuart side and fell under the disfavour of the victorious Hanoverians. Even in the earlier Whig days of William III. political necessities had ejected the Non-Jurors, who took with them the greater part of the honesty and learning and zeal of the Church. The Hanoverian accession being a party triumph for the Whigs still further operated in the same way. Churchmen and Clergy were generally Jacobite in sentiment: they found themselves looked upon with disfavour and distrust. Bishops were now appointed solely with the object of increasing the political power of the Government and thus were out of sympathy with their flocks. Energy of all kinds was repressed and discouraged: "let sleeping dogs lie." Trade meanwhile prospered exceedingly, and absorbed the interests of the nation. It is not a beautiful picture, whether we look at religion, politics, art, literature or social life.

The Bangorian Controversy. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, one of the Whig political appointments, was attacked by the lower House of Convocation (the lower Clergy) for his heretical opinions. The opportunity was seized to silence Convocation altogether. The result was that the Church had no means for meeting new requirements *e.g.*:

- i. Colonial expansion.
2. Increase of population in England due to industrial developments.

The consequences were

1. that the Church became out of touch with the people;
2. indifference and neglect of duty became general, *e.g.* in regard to Poor Relief, Church building, the Slave trade;
3. a spirit of rationalism and unbelief naturally resulted from the decline of churchmanship;
4. degeneracy in public morality set in *e.g.* Truck system, sweating of employees;
5. and general growth of ignorance
e.g. absence of Schools, corruption in Universities (and cf. agitation against the Reform of the Kalendar).

There was however much learning among the higher Clergy, though it was mainly of a secular kind. This showed itself even in religious controversy. Against the Deists and Unitarians, Churchmen like Bishop Butler (who however had a

b, Political repression of enthusiasm and activity.
(Wakeman 421.)

ii. *The Silencing of Convocation.*
"Bangorian Controversy."
1717.

Disastrous consequences of silencing of Convocation.
(Wakeman 422.)

iii. *The Deistic Controversy.*
(Wakeman 428.)

high ideal of duty), Warburton, Berkeley, and Paley argued merely that Christianity was *reasonable* not that it was *divine*.

iv. *Growth of Tolerance.*
(Taswell Langmead 758-61.)

It was under such influences of indifference and not from motives of charity that Toleration progressed.

a. early efforts.

1718.

1727.

1. The Act against occasional Conformity and the Schism Act were repealed and Acts of Indemnity excusing non-compliance with the requirements of the Test Act were annually passed.

1778-80.

2. When however it was proposed to extend the same advantages to Roman Catholics the intolerance of Protestant Dissenters broke out in the Gordon Riots, and the proposal was abandoned till 1829.

b. postponement.

Further delay was caused by

a. George III.'s religious scruples

b. The outbreak of the French Revolution.

c. Reform.
(Taswell Langmead 761.)

In 1813 the Unitarians were admitted to the privileges given by the Toleration Act to other Protestants, and in 1828 the Test Act and Corporation Act, long since abandoned in practice, were repealed. The Roman Catholic Relief Act was passed in 1829.

v. *The attitude of Churchmen.*

To these removals of Tests Churchmen were often opposed. The reason is to be sought less in any feeling of intolerance—for they usually favoured Freedom of Worship—than in the close union which existed between Church and State.

Before the Reformation, Church and State had been interchangeable terms; and after the Reformation all parties, Churchmen and Dissenters alike, desired equally strongly to compel all to think and worship in the same way and so to make a 'Church' still co-extensive with the nation.

But Dissent increased, so that the old laws and arrangements, continued through Tudor and Stuart times,—animated as has been explained by the idea that Church and State were the same thing looked at from different points of view—became inapplicable to the new condition of things.

e.g. Parliament very largely controlled Church affairs

The Government appointed Bishops and other Church officials

Town Corporations often appointed Parish Clergy.

It seemed important therefore that such bodies should be confined to Churchmen only: it is obviously wrong that a Parliament (and a Ministry) which comprises all varieties of Religions should have control of Church affairs.

Moreover the Silencing of Convocation (see p. 301, 381) had deprived the Church of all power of independent action: she could neither make reforms nor remedy abuses, and she still labours under this disadvantage.

Later history shows the fears of the Churchmen of those days to be not altogether groundless. The interference of Parliament in religious matters is generally inefficient and injurious.

2. THE WESLEYANS.

Just as Walpole's repression of political enthusiasm provoked the reaction which was led by the "Patriots" (see p. 307), so the general decline in religious zeal provoked reaction.

The Deistic attack on Christianity (see p. 301) was defeated by the arguments of reason and philosophy, but there was little active energy for good. But Religion cannot appeal solely to men's brains, it must touch their souls also. (Wakeman 437-450.)
Overton, *Church in*
xviii. Cent.)
1. *General Awakening*

While the Bishops and higher clergy were sunk in indifference and the mechanical performance of their official duties, and frightened at enthusiasm, some of the younger and lesser Clergy and laity were moving.

Though the Church as a body could do nothing to aid foreign missions (through the silence of Convocation) unofficial societies were at work, *e.g.*

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—founded 1701.

Church Missionary Society—founded 1799

In the same way there were Societies for furthering Education, *e.g.*

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—founded 1698

National Society (which built Church Schools all over the country long before the State gave any help) founded 1811.

There were also not a few "Societies for the Improvement of Manners."

One of these was at Oxford. Its members were naturally merely junior members of the University, and they attracted notice and derision by the zeal they displayed in observing the Church's rules and methods (hence their nickname of "Methodists") in regard to frequent Communion, Feasts and Fasts, etc. In this they were much influenced by a Nonjuror, William Law, and his book called the *Serious Call*.

ii. *The "Methodists."*
(Green 737.)

Among these were John Wesley (1703—1791), his brother Charles Wesley (1708—1788), and George Whitefield (1714—1770).

iii. *Wesley.*

(Green 738.)

The two former went out to the new Colony of Georgia as missionaries but their Church principles were too rigid to be practical and they soon returned.

In London they were attracted to the Moravians—recent arrivals from the Continent full of religious zeal and with only a partial knowledge of the Catholic Faith. From them however John Wesley learnt the necessity of "conversion," *i.e.* the need of not looking on Baptism as a mere mechanical washing away of all sin but as entailing the need of a "new birth" from post-baptismal sinfulness when "years of

a, Causes of
opposition.

discretion " brought a knowledge of sinfulness. The Church had provided for this by Confirmation and Absolution, but these ordinances were little practised.

When he began to preach this doctrine, in a form which zeal naturally exaggerated, the novelty of the subject and of his style of preaching, so different from the dry argumentative discourses of the day, startled, while the extraordinary effects of his excited appeals to feelings alarmed, many. The general dislike of enthusiasm in any form was against him, and the lax and indifferent Bishops in particular looked on him with disfavour. The English Church has never been able to use enthusiasm effectively and Wesley began to find the Churches closed to him and the upper classes as a rule against him.

(Macaulay's Essays
561-3).

b, Results of
opposition.)

He therefore found himself restricted to the poor, and began to organize Methodist classes and a Methodist Society, with lay preachers who went about preaching either in the open air or in meeting houses.

c, development of
separation.

He had no desire to supplant Church organisation : indeed he was himself what would be called nowadays a High Churchman. But everything was against him. The Meeting Houses had to be licensed as "*Dissenting Meeting Houses*" by the requirements of the Toleration Act of 1689. The congregations which met in these for prayer and teaching were intended of course to go to the Parish Altar for the Holy Communion. But soon unordained ministers began to administer the Holy Communion, though informally and without authority, and in direct opposition to Wesley's own wishes. The opposition of the Bishops more and more drew away the Clergy from the Wesleyans. Whitefield and others grew impatient of restraint and were also inclined to Calvinism. Lady Huntingdon took these under her patronage and they organised themselves into a distinct offshoot called "*Lady Huntingdon's Connection*," definitely schismatical and Calvinistic. When Wesley's Society spread to America superintendents were needed to guide and direct it but the Bishops would give no help : in despair he laid his hands on two men calling them "*Bishops*"—an unfortunate lapse from Church order of which he soon saw the mistake.

iv. *The Wesleyan
Schism.*

To the end of his life Wesley struggled against any formal separation from the Church saying that "when the Wesleyans left the Church God would leave them." But on his death in 1791 separation soon came, and in 1795 laymen were "authorised" to administer the Holy Communion. This of course separated the Society from the Church.

The evil example bore speedy fruit. A Society which was founded in secession soon found that the spirit of secession remained in its constitution, and there are now many varieties of Methodism, each differing from the others save in a common hostility to the Church.

3. THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL.

So great a movement could not help influencing the Church. There was an awakening in the Church also. As "High Churchmen" were few and insignificant the new movement, though professing great veneration for the Bible (hence called the Evangelical Movement) had little hold on Church doctrine or order, and preaching was more valued than the Sacraments.

It comprised however many able and zealous men, who accomplished much good work,

(Green 739.)

i. *Its character.*
(Wakeman 427, 451.)ii. *Its work.*

- a. *Mission Preachers*—Fletcher of Madeley, Venn of Huddersfield, Romaine of Southwark.
- b. *Bible Students*—Scott and Milner.
- c. *Hymn Writers*—John and Charles Wesley, Toplady, Cowper.
- d. *Foreign Missions*—Church Missionary Society, 1799 (Charles Simeon and John Venn). Slave Trade abolished 1807-1833 by efforts of Wilberforce, etc.
- e. *Education*—Robert Raikes started Sunday Schools 1781. National Society (for Elementary Education) 1811.

But their influence was

- (1) entirely individual : they made no attempt to wake the Church as a whole, indeed they had no idea of the Church as "the Kingdom of God."
- (2) Therefore Dissent grew rapidly, but the Church, having no organization by which to work (for Diocesan Synods, etc., like Convocation, had ceased), continued unmoved.
- (3) She remained out of sympathy with the rising activity and expansion. Churches and Services were mean and unworthy, and the Bishops and Clergy, though in general educated and respected were without any high ideal of clerical duty.
- (4) Though individual Evangelicals—both Churchmen and Dissenters—did much valuable social work.

iii. *Its results.*
(Wakeman 450.)

(Wakeman 455.)

(Wakeman 429-33.)
459-

The result was that the Church seemed doomed. Indifferent to the spirit of development which was everywhere rising, unable to meet the new demands which altered circumstances had brought about, unable to use the new revival of personal religion which Wesleyanism had begun, priding herself only on her opposition to Rome and basing her claims only on her support by the State, she stood wrapped in a chilling apathy. While Empires toppled down abroad and political revolution threatened at home, the Church of England stood "unchanged and apparently unchangeable, waiting in patience for the knell of her doom to toll."

(Wakeman 462.)

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

- i. *The Agricultural Revolution*
 - i. Improved methods in
 - a Agriculture
 - b Stock-breeding
 Their effects
 - 1 National : increase of wealth
 - 2 Political : increase of political power of Whigs
 - 3 Social :
 - a weakened the middle and lower classes
 - b increased poverty
 - ii. Unwise methods of Poor Relief
 - a Poor Laws—'Spenhamland Act' 1795
 - b Charitable relief
 - iii. Unwise National Policy—the 'Mercantile Theory'
 - Foreign policy
 - Colonial policy
 - Corn laws
2. *The Industrial Revolution*
 - i. Improvements in manufactures
 - a Early improvements
 1. immigrant workmen
 2. increased home manufactures
 - b 18th Century developments
 1. introduction of 'machinery'
 2. introduction of water power
 3. improved means of communication—roads and canals
 4. application of steam
 - ii. Effects :
 1. Industrial :
 - a development of coalfields
 - b stimulus to mechanical improvements. Watt.
 - c growth of industrial localities and new centres of population.
 - d rise of Factory system
 2. Political :
 - a new centres of political importance
 - b political importance of wealth
 3. National :
 - a increase of wealth
 - b increase of population
 - c increase of poverty
 4. Social :
 - a separation of classes
 - b degradation of labour
 - c poverty and degeneracy
 - d moral depravity
 5. Demands for Reform

(Cunningham, vol. ii,
pt. iii;
Lecky ch. 21,
Macaulay's *Hist.*
ch. 3.)

If England was spared the horror of a Revolution like that of France she passed through one which was not less important and which perhaps entailed not less suffering.

It may be considered separately according as it affected (i.) the agricultural and (ii.) the manufacturing interests.

1. *The Agricultural Revolution.*

i. The great landowners who had so largely brought about the accession of the Hanoverians profited, as has been shown, by their victory in every way. They used their power to still

further increase their wealth and importance. Their political measures have already been described (p. 297).

Various improvements increased the productive power of the land, such as better methods of cultivation and the introduction of turnips and other roots. These in turn helped to improve the cattle. Waste lands were enclosed and made productive. The Fens were drained.

All this of course increased the wealth of the nation, as a whole, enormously. It increased too the importance of the Whig landowners. But it pressed heavily on the classes below the aristocracy. The new methods required much capital and large estates, so waste lands were enclosed and made productive and the smaller landowners and the yeomen-farmers very largely disappeared. The poorer labourers had been accustomed to eke out their wages by pasturing a cow or two on the waste commons, and by keeping poultry who could run there. When these were enclosed and cultivated this was no longer possible, and the labourer's condition became steadily worse.

Moreover the great landowners controlled both local affairs, as Justices of the Peace, and national affairs, as members of Parliament or owners of seats. These powers they used in their own interests.

Instead of raising the impoverished labourer by giving him a "living-wage" out of their own profits, they pauperised him, at the expense of the community, by supplementing his wretched wage by "putting him on the rates." It was the Justices of the Peace at Spenhamland in Berkshire who first hit on this expedient and their plan was largely followed. Originally perhaps the idea sprang from mistaken kindness, and this was a great age for Almshouses, Free Schools, and doles. The mistake lay in doing nothing to help the poor to better themselves. The result was to pauperise the labouring classes and to discourage self-respect and thrift, for the lower a man's honestly earned wages fell the larger the relief he received from the rates and doles. No wonder the poor rates increased enormously: in one place they actually reached twenty-one shillings in the pound.

National administration was similarly in the hands of the great landowners and their natural allies the wealthy merchants. Hence the supreme importance attached to commercial interests in foreign policy (p. 299) which was dominated by the 'Mercantile Theory' as it is called. This taught that all gain must be 'at other peoples' or nations' expense; two nations could not grow rich at the same time. It was therefore imperative to cripple France and to restrict Colonial enterprise, lest English trade should be interfered with. This policy lost us our American Colonies.

Increased population needed a much larger amount of corn

i. Improved methods in agriculture.
a. agriculture.
b. Stock-breeding.

Their effects.
c. natural :
Increased wealth.
2. political : increased Whig power.
3. Social :
a. weakened middle and lower classes.
b. increased poverty

ii. Unwise methods of Poor Law.
a. administration of Poor Laws.
"The Spenhamland Act, 1795."
b. charitable relief.

iii. Mistaken National Policy.
"The Mercantile Theory."
Foreign policy.
Colonial policy.

Corn Laws.

than had hitherto been grown, or, as experience showed, than could be profitably grown, in England; but instead of allowing it to come freely into England the landowners tried to retain their monopoly and increase their wealth by bounties to themselves and import duties on other nations. Thus while wages were everywhere falling prices were everywhere rising, to the ever increased misery of the lower classes.

2. The Industrial Revolution.

ii. Meanwhile a still greater revolution had been going on in the manufacturing industries. England might once have been described as a great sheep-farm: she was soon to resemble a great factory or workshop.

Improvement in Manufactures.

a. early improvements:

1. Immigrant workmen.

The manufacturing power of England had much improved since those early days when Edward III. had striven to protect the Flemish because it was they who made our wool into cloth. Flemish immigrants and French refugees from religious persecution had brought their looms and their skill across the narrow seas and Englishmen had been quick to learn from those to whom they gave shelter.

2. Increased home manufacture.

b. 18th Century development.

1. Introduction of 'machinery.'

Most English spinning was done in the country districts by handlooms in the winter when agricultural work was largely at a standstill, or by workmen in the towns in their own homes. In the latter half of the Eighteenth Century a series of inventions completely changed all the circumstances of production as well as enormously increasing it.

(Green 828.)

The methods of production were completely changed. In 1738 Kay of Bury invented the flying shuttle which doubled a weaver's powers. In 1767 James Hargreaves of Blackburn invented the spinning-jenny which enabled one man to do the work of many. Arkwright (1768) and Crompton (1779) still further improved on these and in the cotton industry, Paul and Cartwright (1785) did the same sort of thing in the manufacture of woollens. As these improved methods caused many men to be thrown out of work there was much breaking of looms, but a far worse time was in store for the working classes.

2. Introduction of water power.

When water-power was applied to these machines the breakdown of the old system of domestic manufactures began in earnest. Arkwright's "water-frame," set up at Cromford in 1771, was the first of a series of new inventions which led to the work being done in large mills, generally placed in likely country districts where the running water which worked the looms was most readily to be found. But such localities were difficult of access, so an impetus was accordingly given to improvements in modes of transit and means of communication.

3. Improved means of communication.

(1) Roads.

The English roads had long been in a disgraceful state, but many efforts to improve them were made in the second half of the Eighteenth Century. The old method had been to lay on the owners of land the duty of maintaining the adjoining

roads, but this was obviously unfair and completely failed. The "Turnpikes" were better. Companies were formed which, in return for maintaining certain stretches of roads, were allowed to levy tolls on those who used them. Macadam and Telford introduced new methods of road-making and road-mending.

' Turnpikes.'

Macadam and
Telford.

The same period saw the construction of canals upon which goods could be transported much more easily and cheaply than upon the best roads. The first canal was made by Joseph Brindley to connect the Duke of Bridgewater's Collieries with Manchester. Telford also constructed canals. Soon after the nineteenth century had begun the introduction of railways with steam locomotives very largely superseded canals.

(a) Canals.

Brindley and Telford
1759-61.

Steam also soon superseded water power in the mills, and as it needed coal the great industries planted themselves on the coal-fields, and the old water-mills were abandoned: their ruins are still to be seen in the dales of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire. Huge factories began to rise wherever coal was plentiful, for the introduction of steam power stimulated mechanical invention, so that coal came to be raised by the new machinery, and many looms could be driven by a single engine. At the same time the raw material could easily be transported by the new railways. Thus there rapidly arose the textile centres of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the ironworks of Sheffield, Lanarkshire, Staffordshire, Northumberland, Glasgow, and South Wales, the pottery industries of North Staffordshire. Coal was also supplied from South Wales, Northumberland, etc., and new methods of iron-smelting by means of coal were discovered. England became the workshop of the world.

4. Application of
steam.

ii. Effects.

i. Industries.

a. development of
Coal-fields.

b. stimulus to
mechanical im-
provements.
(Watt's steam engine
for pumping and
coal-raising 1769;
steam-hammer 1783.)

c. growth of indus-
trial localities, and
new centres of
population.

Joiah Wedgwood
1760-90.

These changes, so rapid and extensive, had wide-reaching results. The old manufactures had been carried on chiefly in the south and east of England where pasture-land was best: the new were chiefly in the Midlands and the north where coal was plentiful.

The balance of political importance and population shifted with the shifting of industry and wealth. The new conditions of industry required concentration in great towns, so that the country and town populations became much more distinctly separated than in the old days. Moreover the aristocracy of Capital rose to challenge the supremacy of the old aristocracy of descent. All these changes brought great sufferings for the people. Even with the best intentions such sudden changes in all sorts of directions would have taxed the best efforts of statesmen and politicians. As a matter of fact men were so dazzled by the outward advantages that they seldom looked below the surface. They saw only the rapid and wonderful increase in wealth which enabled England to stand the strain

d. Rise of Factory-
system.

2. Political:

a. new areas of poli-
tical importance.

b. political impor-
tance of wealth.

3. National:

a. increase of wealth

- of the long war, but failed to see that the immediate profits went solely to the employers. Everyone was indifferent to the condition of the working classes. Increased demand for labour caused increased population, this caused increasing competition, and as improved methods of mechanical production were continually being introduced, wages steadily fell. At the same time the artificial restriction of food supplies (p. 388) caused prices to rise, and the long war brought heavy taxation.
- b, increase of population.** The factory owners knew nothing of the old personal, family, relations which had formerly existed between master and man. Employing as they often did many hundreds they could not know them even by sight had they wished to do so. As a matter of fact they did not wish. They looked on them merely as "hands" not very different from the machines they worked.
- c, increase of poverty** The conditions of labour in the enormous factories were often terrible. The work was mechanical so that skilled labour was in small demand. Child-labour and female-labour was cheap, and more than half the hands employed in the cotton factories were children, girls, and women. Hours were excessive, ventilation and sanitation was unknown, pay was small. Ignorance and depravity were the natural accompaniments. The Church unfortunately could do little to mend matters (p. 381); the Dissenting principles which many of the factory-owners professed do not appear to have inspired them to care much for either the bodies or the souls of their employees.
- 4. Social :** We have seen how the efforts to deal with the misery in the country districts were attended with sad results. There was no effort for a long time to deal with the misery in the towns. When the workpeople began to unite together for mutual help in Trades Unions, these were declared illegal. The result was naturally secret associations and terrible riots, which still further set class against class, and made the working people an easy prey to the agitators who urged them to imitate the French Revolutionists. They had no way of making their voices heard which the law allowed : they could only do so by riots and strikes.
- a, separation of classes.**
- b, degradation of labour.**
- c, poverty and degeneracy.**
- d, moral depravity.**
- f, demands for Reform.**
(Combination Acts 1799, 1800.)

THE BEGINNING OF REFORM.

- i. *Reform was inevitable through*
 1. Stoppage of war enabled men to look at home affairs
 2. Prevalence of destitution
 3. High prices
 4. General ignorance and depravity
 5. Prevalence of revolutionary sentiments
 6. Disorder
 7. Large manufacturing towns unrepresented
 8. The Press
 9. Political pressure
 10. Religious Revival

- ii. *Attempts at Repression*
 - 1. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act
 - 2. The Six Acts
- iii. *Beginning of Reform*
 - (i.) *Social and industrial Reform*
 - 1. Reciprocity of Duties Act 1823
 - 2. Reduction of Import Duties
 - 3. Modification of Corn Laws by sliding scale
 - 4. Combination Laws legalised Trade Unions
 - (ii.) *Freedom of Worship*
 - 1. Protestant Dissenters
 - 2. Papist Dissenters
 - (iii.) *Legal Reforms*
 - (iv.) *Parliamentary Reform* (hastened by 2nd French Revolution of 1830)
 - 1. First Reform Bill 1831
 - 2. 2nd Reform Bill 1831
 - 3. 3rd Reform Bill 1831
 - Wellington's appeal to "loyalty" of Lords
 - Grey's assertion of supremacy of Commons in the Constitution
 - Wellington's last effort
 - The Great Reform Act 1832
 - (v.) *The Era of Reform begins*

As soon as the danger from Napoleon was removed the question of Reform returned, and rapidly became pressing.

If nothing else could have enforced Reform the condition of the working classes must have done so. The rapid and wide-reaching changes in both town and country which have already been described, together with the long war, had caused terrible destitution. The cessation of war increased it by adding the disbanded soldiers to the already large multitude of unemployed. Bad harvests and the Corn Law of 1815, which forbade the importation of wheat till the price was high—a measure to protect the great landowners from foreign competition—intensified the evil. Before the eyes of an ignorant, degraded, and starving population the example of the French Revolution dangled attractive hopes: riots, rick-burning, and strikes became terribly common.

Sometimes the riots assumed alarming proportions, as in the case of the Luddites of 1811, the Spa Fields Riot in London in 1816, the Manchester "Blanketeers" in 1817, and the Derbyshire insurrection in the same year. Sometimes there was bloodshed: in Manchester in 1819 (the "Peterloo Massacre") and Bristol (1831). To avenge the former some desperate men headed by one Thistlewood planned the Cato Street Conspiracy, but their design of murdering the Ministers was discovered in time.

The shrewd manufacturers and wealthy factory-owners, whose industries had called new towns into being on all sides, joined their demands for representation to the demands of the poor for social improvements, just as the "Nabobs"—the

1. *Reform inevitable*
(Green 829, 837.)

1. Stoppage of war.

2. Destitution.

3. High prices.

4. Ignorance and depravity.

5. Revolutionary sentiments.

6. Disorder.

7. Unrepresented Towns.
(May ch. 3.)

- 8. The Press.
- 9. Politicians.

- 10. Religious revival.

- ii. *Attempts at Repression.*
(Gardiner and Mullinger 197.)
1817.
1819.

- iii. *Beginning of Reform.*

- (i.) *Social and industrial Reforms.*

- 1. Reciprocity of Duties Act, 1823.
- 2. Reduction of Import Duties.
- 3. Sliding Scale in Corn Laws.
- 4. Combination Laws 1824-5.

- ii. *Freedom of Worship.*
(Taswell Langmead 758.)

- 1. Protestant Dissenters.
- 2. Papist Dissenters

- iii. *Legal Reforms*
(May iii. 385-404.)

- and French Revolution (1830.)

- hastens (iv.) *Parliament Reform*
(May i. 420-30,
Green 829.)

- 1. First Reform Bill.
1831.

English merchants who had made fortunes in India—had previously disputed the right of the great landowners to sole control of the rotten boroughs and Parliament. Writers and politicians, like Cobbett, Earl Grey, and Sir Frederick Burdett, advocated political methods of agitation in preference to “physical force” but their weight was thrown into the same scale. Petitions for Parliamentary Reform flowed in. Meetings were held. The Religious Revival (p. 383) had brought a raising of moral tone. The country clamoured for Reform with a great and exceeding bitter cry.

It could not be denied. The Government tried repression. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a year and the Six Acts forbade the use of arms, attempted to restrain the press, and to stop seditious meetings. George IV. (1820) gave his strongest support to his ministers in this policy.

It was in vain. There was too much justice on the side even of the rioters for the cause of Reform to fail.

Social Reforms and reforms in trade came first.

Huskisson was able to make some advances towards Free Trade. His Reciprocity of Duties Act gave foreign vessels equal rights with those of England on bringing imports to this country. Some of the import duties were reduced, and the Corn Laws were modified. Huskisson was accidentally killed in 1830 at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. The Combination Laws made some progress towards legalising Trades Unions.

Then came Reforms in regard to Toleration. The Test and Corporation Acts were repealed in the interests of Protestant Dissenters, though they of course had long been inoperative (p. 382), and after a long struggle (1821—29) the Roman Catholic Relief Act was passed. A grant was made in aid of Church Building.

Reforms were also made in Criminal Law, and in 1829 Sir Robert Peel established the London Police Force. Hence the nick-names of “Bobbies” and “Peelers.”

George IV. died in 1830, and on William IV.’s accession the French gave another example of a short way of dealing with an obnoxious government. Louis XVIII., attempting to rule contrary to the will of the people, was driven from the throne and the country.

This gave new strength to the agitation for political Reform in England, and it even became evident that if other methods failed the example of France would be attempted.

The result was that the Reform Act, with a final struggle, was at last passed.

The old Duke of Wellington, strong in the sense of personal honesty and of affection for the past, which, after all, had made England the richest and most powerful country in the world,

was Prime Minister when the second French Revolution occurred. It destroyed his majority and Earl Grey's Reform Ministry came into power.

Lord John Russell introduced what is known as the 1st Reform Bill in 1831. When it failed the Ministers appealed to the country and the General Election gave them a large majority.

The 2nd Reform Bill was at once introduced and was of course carried in the Commons. Its rejection by the Lords caused a great outburst of indignation throughout the country. Excited political meetings, fierce riots, threats to refuse taxes, raised in many minds the fears of a Civil war.

The 3rd Reform Bill followed. When, after passing the Commons it was sent up to the Lords, the manœuvres of George III. in regard to Fox's India Bill (1783) were repeated. The Duke of Wellington announced the King's opposition to the Bill and appealed to the loyalty of the Lords to reject it.

But the plan was half a century out of date. For the moment it succeeded, and though the Bill was passed by a narrow majority a motion adverse to it was subsequently carried.

The time for decision had come. Lord Grey demanded that the King should agree to the creation of 50 new Peers to give him a majority in the Upper House, and when this was refused he promptly resigned.

Renewed agitation in the country did not daunt the Iron Duke and he was quite willing to undertake an Anti-Reform Government. But Peel refused to co-operate, and Grey had to be recalled within a week and on his own terms. These were that he should have a written promise from the King to create such Peers as were necessary for the emergency.

Such a measure would have annihilated the House of Lords as a part of the Constitution, and the threat had its desired effect. By the advice of the Duke of Wellington the irreconcilables abstained from voting and the Great Reform Bill was at last carried. Similar Acts were passed for Scotland and Ireland.

- a. Members. 56 Boroughs were disfranchised on account of their small size.
30 were deprived of one member each.
22 new Boroughs with 2 members each and 20 with one member each were created.
County Members were raised from 94 to 159.
- b. Electors. The Franchise was extended and made uniform.
- c. Methods of polling and registration were simplified and improved.

The Bill was by no means a final or complete measure but it

2nd Reform Bill, 1831

3rd Reform Bill, 1831

Wellington's appeal to "loyalty."

Grey's assertion of supremacy in House of Commons over
(1) Monarchy,
(2) Lords.

Wellington's last effort.

The Great Reform Act, 1832.

The era of Reform.

was a sign of the beginning of better times. It was a stepping-stone to higher things, and the next few years saw many changes for the better. The Factory Act, the Abolition of Slavery, and the first Government Grant in aid of Education, all came in the very next year. In 1834 came a great Poor Law. In 1835 the Municipal Corporations were reformed. The publication of John Keble's *Christian Year* in 1827 was followed by the beginning of the Oxford Movement in 1833, which was to bring the Church once more in touch with the people. In all directions there was a stirring among the dry bones. There was hope for the future.

(Wakeman 465.)

THE KINGS AND THE BARONAGE.

The struggle for supremacy from the Norman Conquest to 1174.

1. *William I.* 1074 (page 5). Roger de Breteuil (E. of Hereford) and Ralph Guader (E. of Norfolk) tried to revive the great Earldoms of pre-Norman days (page 1.) Waltheof joined them. Defeated without difficulty.
2. *William II.* (a) 1088 (page 11). Odo, with Roger of Montgomery (E. of Shrewsbury) and Robert of Belesme (his son), set up Robert of Normandy, as he would be less masterful. Defeated.
(b) 1095 (page 11.) Robert Mowbray (E. of Northumberland) headed a rising, being provoked by the king's order that he should do justice to some Norwegian traders he had robbed.
3. *Henry I.* 1102 (page 15). Robert of Belesme (E. of Shrewsbury) finally expelled.
4. *Stephen.* 1135—54 (pages 19-22). The reign was an example of the evil results of the unchecked power of the Baronage.
5. *Henry II.* (a) 1154-5. Adulterine Castles destroyed (page 24) and Roger of Hereford and Hugh Mortimer quelled (page 25).
(b) His policy was directed towards weakening the power of the baronage (page 26).
(c) 1173-4. The final effort of the baronage to assert their independence of the King (see page 30). Previous attempts had been made by individuals who were powerful mainly through their position on the northern or western borders: this was much more general and united. But quickly crushed.

GROWTH OF ROYAL COUNCIL.

1. In A. S. times a body of advisers of Crown (chosen from King's household) existed distinct from Witan.
2. After Norman Conquest there arose a Committee of National Council = *Curia Regis*, its members being permanent officials of Court.
But the term *Curia Regis* also signified National Council or Commune Concilium
3. *Henry III's* Minority first brought Council into real importance and made it permanent.
Most of the quarrels of King and Barons turned on the appointment of the Council, e.g. Lords Ordainers in Edw. II., Council of Eleven in Rich. II.
4. *Edward I.*, being a strong king, it lost in power, though gained in definiteness.

Often used in opposition to Parliament.

Its functions :

1. Received petitions which Chancellor (the judicial President of the Council) often decided. This originated Court of Chancery.
2. A Court of Justice (called Star Chamber sometimes in later years).
3. A standing Council of Advice.
4. 'King in Council' often issued *Ordinances*, which had force of statutes (generally of temporary or unimportant nature).
5. The "New Monarchy" (Yorkists and Tudors) preferred the Council (and Committees) to Parliament.

EARLY GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT.

1. After N. Conquest Anglo-Saxon Witan became the *Curia Regis*, i.e., the Court of Tenants in Chief.
2. Gradually lesser barons ceased to attend, and the Court became confined to greater barons only (= House of Lords). Exercised considerable power, both direct and indirect, especially during minority of Henry III.
3. *Introduction of Elective Element* (= House of Commons) arose from necessity of obtaining popular support.
 - (a) Montfort needed support in contest with King, and therefore called representatives from towns and counties, 1265.
 - (b) Edward I. made various *experiments in representation*, as necessity required, before he finally
 - (c) 1295 established a regular and complete *Parliament* (Bishops, Barons, Commons).
 1. Money required for French War, Scottish War, Welsh Rebellion.
 2. Commons raised to counter-balance Barons.
 3. It was Edward's desire as well as interest that "what concerns all should be approved by all."
4. *The Commons grew powerful.*
 - (a) Their financial value, which increased as they grew richer, cf. especially Edw. I. Henry IV. (1407) Commons establish right to originate money bills.
 - (b) Barons sought their help in contests with the king.
 1311. *Ordinances* : transferred power from King to Parliament
 - 1327, 1399. Deposition of Ed. II. and R. II. effected in full Parliament.
 - (c) King also continued to seek support of Commons against Barons.
 1322. Ed. II. induced Parliament to revoke ordinances.
 1397. R. II. made absolute by Parlt. of Shrewsbury.
 - (d) Lancastrians and Tudors favoured power of Commons.
 - (e) Stuart struggles, especially with Commons.

THE STAR CHAMBER.

(cf Prothero's *Documents* : Intro. ciii.)

- i. *Much obscurity as to its origin.* The Tudors were fond of governing by means of the Privy Council as this was more dependent on the Crown than Parliament. The Tudor period has been called the 'Period of Government by Council.' The powers of the Privy Council were often exercised by smaller Committees e.g. the Council of the North (1537), the Council of Wales (1542). Under Wolsey an old Court appears to have been revived, which was called, from its place of meeting, 'The Star Chamber'; and this Court gradually absorbed the power of other Courts or Committees, especially those of
 - a. A Committee of the Royal Council which Henry VII. had appointed to administer justice where the ordinary Courts were ineffectual by reason of the power or influence of offenders; and
 - b. A Court appointed by Henry VIII. to enforce the Act of Parliament which gave Royal Proclamations the force of law.
- ii. *Constitution*—King; Lord Chancellor, Privy Councillors, Nobles, Bishops, and others. King often sat in person, and others only sat as summoned by him, so that the Court was altogether amenable to his influence.
- iii. *Jurisdiction*—*theoretically* existed to supplement the law where this was defective; but in *practice* its jurisdiction was unlimited. Under the Stuarts especially, it interfered in small matters as well as great, and even in private affairs. Its claim to control the ordinary Law Courts, and even to punish Juries for their verdicts, made it dangerous. Its indefinite constitution and undefined powers made it particularly open to bribery.
The penalties inflicted included fines, imprisonment, pillory, in fact most current forms of punishment except death.
- iv. It had once been popular because useful, but when used to support Stuart absolutism it made itself obnoxious, especially during "Eleven Years Tyranny," and was abolished by Long Parliament 1641.

COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION. Originated by Statute in Elizabeth's reign to administer ecclesiastical laws Revived by Charles I. and Laud. Being nominated by the King it became, like the Star Chamber, merely an instrument for enforcing his and Laud's objects. Abolished by the Long Parliament 1641 but revived for a short time by James II.

RESPONSIBILITY OF MINISTERS.

- i. That Ministers were answerable to Parliament had been fore-shadowed in earlier reigns, but had quite dropped out under Tudors.
- ii. Revived under Stuarts : (Ministers being answerable only to the King they could only be removed by Parliament by violent methods).
 - 1624 Middlesex impeached for neglect of duty.
 - 1626 Buckingham impeached for sending ships against Huguenots.
 - 1640 Strafford impeached for treason *to the State*. His acts were by common consent committed out of a desire to benefit *the King*, but even so they were asserted to be treason *to the State*. This very clearly asserted the doctrine that private service to the King and public service to the State were not necessarily the same thing, and Strafford's attainder and execution was a great step in the direction of securing the Parliamentary right that Ministers must be responsible to Parliament for their actions.
 - 1667 The right was enforced in case of Clarendon.
- iii. Danby's Impeachment 1774 decided that
 - a. Royal commands cannot excuse Ministers.
 - b. Royal pardon cannot be pleaded in bar of an Impeachment. (This right made good again in Impeachment of Oxford 1715).
- iv. After Revolution of 1688 the doctrine of Ministerial Responsibility became recognised. Act of Settlement 1701 tried to fix responsibility on individuals in order to secure *responsibility*. But the true solution was not to punish offensive policy but to prevent it by making sure that Ministers should not act in defiance of Parliament. This came to be the case as the Cabinet developed.
 1. Ministers, being dependent on Parliamentary support, when they lose it they go out of office.
 2. Their actions being constantly criticised by Parliament, they are prevented from doing anything so extremely unpopular as to call for an Impeachment.

THE CABINET.

(Morley's *Walpole* ; Bagehot's *Eng. Constitution* ;
 Rosebery's *Pitt* ; Seeley's *Pol. Science* ; Taswell
 Langmead 685).

An informal Committee of leading Ministers of State, not recognised by law, but only by custom.

- i. Privy Council was originally a Committee of *Concilium Ordinarium*, and both being appointed by King became, under

Tudors, merely agencies for carrying out the royal wishes. Powers of *Concilium Ordinarium* were wide and undefined, and included judicial functions (cf Star Chamber). All members were sworn to secrecy.

- ii. Long Parliament abolished judicial functions of *Concilium Ordinarium*, so that henceforth there was practically no difference between it and Privy Council. The latter, in name and fact, took place of former.

[NOTE Charles I.'s effort in 1641, to resuscitate former.]

- iii. The 'Cabinet' came into being in consequence of the Privy Council being too unwieldy a body for effective work :
 1. Charles II. began to act with small Committee or 'Cabinet' of it—the 'Cabal' of 1671. This proved impracticable because no guarantee of harmony between it and Parliament.
 2. Temple's Scheme 1679 for small workable Committee of 30 (perhaps suggested by Dutch Constitution) : 15 officers of state, 15 wealthy Non-placemen, latter as check on former. But again the number of members rendered it impracticable and an inner 'Cabinet' again formed and continued under James II. and William III. and afterwards.
- iv. The question then arose as to (a) its composition, and (b) its relation to Parliament.
 1. Obviously it must include the most important Ministers of State.
 2. William III. and Anne both tried to select these from both Parties : result was constant divisions in the 'Cabinet.'
 3. Being appointed by King independently of Parliament there was also frequent discord in William III.'s reign between Parliament and Ministers.
 4. Act of Settlement tried to reform this by (i.) restoring power to Privy Council ; but no ministers could hold office on the terms which were laid down, and this provision was immediately repealed. (ii.) excluding Ministers from Parliament : but this was liable to check the harmonious working together of the 'Cabinet' and Parliament, and was modified in 1705.

The real solution was not perfected till Walpole's day. The characteristics of the Cabinet gradually came to be :

- i. Its members (= the Ministry) must be chosen from the party which has the majority in Parliament, so as to ensure working in harmony with Parliament.
 - (a) Walpole fell when he lost support of Parliament.
 - (b) Geo. III. tried to exercise his right of appointing his own Ministers without reference to Parliament.—Bute 1761—3, North 1770—82.
 - (c) Coalition Ministries have always been shortlived and weak (1783—4, 1806—7)

2. They must all agree on a common line of policy
Walpole (1721—42) made this into a rule by ousting malcontents. cf Pitt the younger.
3. They must stand or fall together as they are collectively responsible.
4. The head of the Cabinet is the Prime Minister, who is the recognised leader of the party which has the majority in Parliament

THE PRIME MINISTER.

(Taswell Langmead 687.)

Replaces the King as the head of the administration—hence *resignation* of the Prime M., instead of *deposition* of the King, suffices when a change of government is necessary.

1. Originated in inability of Geo. I. to take part in Eng. politics.
2. Secures harmony between all parts of the Constitution *e.g.*
 - 1742 Walpole resigns because he has lost support of Parlt.
 - 1756 Newcastle " " he lacks support of Public Opin.
 - 1757 Pitt " " he lacks support of Parlt.
 - 1761 " " " he lacks support of King
 - 1784 " " " he lacks support of Parlt.
2. Walpole's long tenure of power (1721—42) and dislike of rivals in his Ministries first "created" the office.
 - It was much disliked and feared : name given in derision.
 - Walpole obliged to disavow the title and position (cf. North 1770).
 - 1741 Strong motion against it in Lords.
 - 1803 Pitt openly declared its necessity.
3. Though appointed theoretically by the Crown he is practically nominated by the Party in power—of which he is the acknowledged leader
 - cf. above 2 (1742, 1757, 1784)
4. He nominates his colleagues in the Cabinet and ensures their harmonious co-operation
 - 1744 Pelham ousted Carteret, whom Geo. II. liked, and admitted Pitt, whom Geo. disliked.
 - 1763 Pitt refused to take the office except with Ministry chosen by himself.
 - Geo. III. tried to choose his own Ministers and direct their policy—therefore frequent quarrels.
5. The office not constitutionally recognised till 1905.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE CROWN. (Taswell Langmead 694—711).

During 18th Century the royal powers pass to Parliament. The King rules but does not govern. Whatever power he has is through personal influence.

A. *Administrative powers* pass to Parliament which exercises them through Ministers responsible to itself.

(a) Stages of growth

1. Geo. I. allows them to be taken over by Whig Oligarchy—hence develop the Cabinet and Prime Minister.
2. Geo. III. tries to regain them (cf. Dunning's Resolution 1780)
 - a by appointing subservient Ministers
 - b by "influencing" Parliament.
3. Public Opinion gradually become strong enough to influence both King and Ministers

(b) Principles established

1. Royal powers must be exercised through ministers ;
2. These must be acceptable to Parliament as a whole,
3. especially to House of Commons, because
 - a This has sole authority in Finance
 - b It becomes the chief legislative power
 - c It represents the Public Opinion of the country

(c) Advantages of the arrangement

1. A hereditary Monarchy provides stability and continuity
2. The Monarchy being non-party it can exercise a moderating influence on politics
3. The Government is bound to represent fairly well the Public Opinion of the Country
4. Thus Treason becomes less common, and Revolution unnecessary, since political methods are equally available to all parties
5. Impeachment for political offences becomes unnecessary : when a minister loses support of Parliament he resigns

B. *Legislative Powers* pass entirely to Parliament.

- a No attempt to legislate by King (Proclamation)
- b. Right of Veto ceases with Anne's reign
- c. Septennial Act is a striking illustration of the supremacy in legislation which Parliament had secured
- d. Even Geo. III. recognised the fact. He tried to 'influence' legislation not to exercise it.
- e. As Public Opinion became better represented in Parliament these efforts ceased because vain.

THE PARLIAMENT.

Both Houses grew largely in size through

- a attempts to ensure majority for Ministers—King Geo. III. added 188 Peers (cf. Peerage Bill 1719) or
- b inevitable necessity of wider representation

House of Lords—219 members in 1714 ; 439 in 1837

z

H. of Commons—

England & Wales	513	500
Scotland	45	53
Ireland	0	105

558 in 1715

658 in 1832

House of Lords. (Taswell Langmead 718—726).

1. Its members very largely owned "pocket boroughs" which kept Lower House in harmony with Upper.
2. As Public Opinion before Reform Bill in 1832 had little direct effect on elections the H. of Lords grew out of touch with the country.
3. Its powers nominally remain but its importance declines when Reform Bill enables Public Opinion to assert itself in Parliament.
4. Retains its judicial powers as Court of Final Appeal.

House of Commons. (Taswell Langmead 726—56).

A. Becomes supreme.

1. Retains its sole authority in *financial affairs*.
2. Gradually becomes the real *legislative* power in the Constitution. 1716—asserted in extensive form in Septennial Act. This recognised 1832 when Lords pass Reform Bill against their own wishes.
3. Controls administration through
 - a power of the purse
 - b growing influence on ministerial appointments and policy. Walpole based his power on support of Commons and fell when he lost it. Pitt (elder) unable to retain office until he accepted "Newcastle's majority" in Commons.

B. But during 18th Century it was not really representative owing to

- a Rotten and Pocket Boroughs.
- b Towns of recent growth (*e.g.* Manchester and Leeds) sent no members. (cf. Parliamentary Reform).

PRIVILEGES OF PARLIAMENT

Originated as security for independence against Crown, but enforced during corruption of 18th Century against unrepresented public opinion.

1. *Freedom of Debate* becomes Secrecy of Debate

- a. Attendance of the public disliked and hindered. Sometimes excluded on occasions.
- b. Publication of Reports declared breach of Privilege (cf. Freedom of Press)

1641 (Long Parliament),

1728, 1738

1771. Onslow's Case

But the claim was untenable and henceforth quietly abandoned.

c. Rt. of public to present petitions is allowed in Bill of Rights 1689 and often exercised.

d. Public Meetings disliked—cf. Riot Act 1715, Seditious Meetings Act 1795, Six Acts 1819.

2. *Freedom from Arrest* also abused

1763 Wilkes Case. H. of Commons denies his privilege (in spite of Pitt) as he had "uttered a false, scandalous, and seditious libel" in No. 45 of *North Briton* by criticising King's Speech i.e. Policy of Ministers.

3. *Right to decide disputed Elections* also abused.

(a) From 1672 decided by whole House. Frequently abused for party purposes.

1770 Grenville's Act ordered Select Committee—but abuses continued.

1868 transferred to Judges.

(b) Aylesbury Election Case 1702—4. Commons claimed right to decide qualifications of electors. Quarrel with Lords who upheld law. Left undecided.

(c) 1763 Wilkes expelled from Parliament as outlaw and libeller (cf. above).

1768 Wilkes, elected for Middlesex, is 4 times refused by Parliament and Luttrell, his defeated opponent, substituted. (This would make H. of Commons a co-opted body).

1774 Wilkes, again elected, is accepted.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. (Taswell Langmead 728—37).

i. As Revolution of 1688 had made H. of Commons the most important part of the Constitution its support became increasingly important to the Government, until finally it practically itself appointed the Government. Hence growth of underhand methods of influencing it. This possible through

a. Inadequate representation of Public Opinion.

b. degeneracy of public morality.

a. *Internal*—Bribery of Members

1. Direct: members bribed to vote in support of Ministry. Reduced to a system by Walpole and Newcastle. Increased by Geo. III.'s personal action through Bute and Lord North.

2. Indirect by gifts of pensions, places, and titles. Attempts to check it by Act of Settlement 1701. Modified 1707. Place Bill 1742—Government clerks and other officials disqualified.

Civil List Bill 1782—Govt. officials still further reduced.
Contractors' Act 1782—disqualified Government Contractors.

b. External—Bribery at Elections, especially in Towns.

Bribery Acts against it 1695, 1729, 1762.

But increased enormously through

- a.* degeneracy in public morality
- b.* Nomination Boroughs were avowedly in hands of Lords, Landowners or Corporations.
- c.* Indian 'Nabobs' began to outbid native plutocracy.
- d.* Desire against it (1782, 1809) failed till Reform Act 1832.

ii. Representation. Jealousy of admitting fresh constituencies through fear of loss of influence.

i. *Early attempts*: opposed by vested interests—Ministers, Borough owners, and Electors.

1766 Elder Pitt denounced corruption. 1770 proposed additional County members to counter-balance corruption of boroughs.

1776 Wilkes proposed

1. to disfranchise rotten boroughs.
2. additional representatives to populous places and districts.
3. Enfranchisement of places of recent growth.

1780 Duke of Richmond :

1. Annual Parliaments.
2. Universal Manhood suffrage.
3. Equal Electoral districts.

1782 Younger Pitt repeated Wilkes' proposals

1785 Younger Pitt repeated Wilkes' proposals with added proposal to bribe rotten boroughs to surrender their rights.

1793, 1797 Grey

1. increase County Members.
2. Extension of franchise.

French Revolution checked all attempts at Reform for a time.

2. Reform.—largely through outside influence of Public Opinion

1809—20 Proposals by Burdett and Lord John Russell

1831 First Reform Bill, by Lord Grey

1. 60 small boroughs to be disfranchised
2. 47 others deprived of a member each
3. These seats given to other places and districts

1832 Third Reform Bill

1. 56 boroughs disfranchised
2. 30 lost one member each.
3. County members increased
4. New boroughs enfranchised
5. Electoral franchise extended

PARTY GOVERNMENT. (Erskine May Ch. viii., Lecky, Taswell Langmead 683).

A political "Party is a body of citizens who agree in desiring to see the business of legislation and government carried on in a particular way."—Raleigh, *Elementary Politics* 75.

1. Reformation made two great parties in England.
These at first religious, but soon obtained political significance.
The "Reformation Settlement" being a royalist one, opponents of Church became opponents of royal power.
2. The combination of politics and religion seen in quarrels between Stuarts and Parliaments.
In struggle over Exclusion Bill, names "Whig" and "Tory" first used.

3. Revolution of 1688 was a Whig movement.
Tho' Tories acquiesced they only did so half-heartedly.
Both parties desired to maintain Eng. Constn. as then established.

But Whigs wished to emphasise power of Commons and championed Toleration, because their supporters were mainly in middle classes and Dissenters.

Tories wished to emphasise power of King (at first through loyalty to Stuarts, later through hostility to Whig Oligarchy) and championed the Church.

(The tyranny of Whigs drove many of Tories to extremes —"Jacobitism"—till 1715).

4. Vicissitudes under Will. III. and Anne.
Whigs desired continuance of war because it was against Louis XIV. and Pretender: they therefore persevered in it after it had become unreasonable.
1710 Tories thus returned to power. T. of Utrecht 1713.
But intrigues with Pretender by Jacobites weakened whole Tory party.

5. Accession of Hanoverians brings Whigs to power, for 50 years.
Their policy:

1. Consolidation of Royal Power, *exercised through Cabinet, i.e. Whigs.*

1716 Septennial Act.

1719 Peerage Bill.

1721-42 Walpole.

2. Increase of Trade, by Wars, and (under Walpole) by Peace.
because their main supporters were the commercial classes,
3. Toleration, because their main supporters were Protestant Dissenters.

1718 Occasional C. Act, and Schism Act, repealed.

1727 Acts of Indemnity begin.

4. Parliamentary corruption.

Tories :

1. Jacobitism ceased to be more than a mere sentiment as the Hanoverian Dynasty became established.
2. Being in opposition they championed the rights of Parliament and people against Whig Oligarchy, and attacked the royal power as exercised through Whig Cabinet—cf. opposition to Walpole.
6. George III.
 - a* utilised Tory resentment against Whig monopolisation of power for so long.
 - b* Tories naturally inclined to magnify royal power, especially when it was for their own advantage.
 - c* Whigs demoralised by long tenure of power.
 - d* Their exclusion from office revived in them their original principles (cf. above, 3)—thus they became the Party of Parliamentary Reform, and regained power.

CRITICISM OF PARTY GOVERNMENT.

Against

1. Artificial, because lines of division cannot be precisely drawn.
2. Causes political questions to be decided less on their own merits than on their bearing on the well-being of Party.
3. Politicians have to conceal their real opinions in deference to Party exigencies.
4. Though most questions have no connection with Party, yet at least half the best men are for many years excluded from power because their Party is temporarily the weaker.
5. Party interests are often opposite to National interests.
6. Makes politics appear a game of insincerity and unreality.

For.

1. No method so efficacious in securing fidelity of M.Ps.
2. Gives Govt. permanence and stability against
 - i. Temporary difficulties.
 - ii. Occasional blunders.
 - iii. Interested agitation.
 - iv. Ignorant agitation.

PERSONAL LIBERTY 1715—1832.

- (A) Tends to steadily increase. Punishments become more humane.
 1. Indefinite accusation or imprisonment forbidden by Habeas Corpus Act 1679.
 2. General Warrants declared illegal in *Wilkes v. Wood* 1763.
- (B) When restricted it is for special purposes.
 1. Mutiny Act 1689 makes soldiers subject to Martial Law (passed annually).
 2. Combination Acts against Trade Unions 1799. Repealed 1824. Renewed 1825 in favour of employers. Trades Unions legalised 1871—5.

3. Factory Acts to restrict employers (sanitation etc. in factories) 1806, 1819, 1833.
4. Habeas Corpus Act occasionally suspended in times of unrest e.g. 1715, 1745, 1794—1801. (cf. Freedom of Press).

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. (May Ch. 9, 10; Taswell Langmead 749—55).

Licensing Act (1662) giving Control of Printing to Government, expired 1679 but Judges declared criticism of Government illegal. Newspapers henceforth controlled by

1. Stamp Act 1712 in consequence of scurrility of Party pamphlets
2. Law of Libel.

Geo. I. and II.—little enforced as Walpole was indifferent to criticism.

Geo. III.

- a. Wilkes in No. 45 of *North Briton* criticised King's Speech
 - b. Junius' 'Letter to the King.' In Woodfall's case Judges held
 1. Truth was no justification.
 2. Question of criminality rested with Judges, not Jury.
 - c. These views upheld in various cases.
 - d. Fox's Libel Act 1792—question of criminality rested with Jury.
3. Parliament tried to prevent publication of Reports of proceedings. 1728, 1738, Forbidden—therefore surreptitiously obtained—therefore incomplete and garbled for Party purposes.
 - 1771 Onslow's Case (or Miller's Case) failed to check it. Onslow complained his speeches were misrepresented in newspapers.

When Printers were arrested they were released by Wilkes an Alderman of London on plea of assault by the arrester. Aldermen imprisoned by Commons and publication of Debates declared a Breach of Parliamentary Privilege. But it continued.

THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS WAR 1688—1815

Just as the 1st Hundred Years War (1337—1453) was concerning the delimitation of France and England, so the 2nd Hundred Years war was concerning the delimitation of Greater France and Greater England (Seeley *Expansion of England*). In the 1st the motives are feudal and dynastic, in the 2nd national and commercial.

1. War of the English Succession 1688—1697: (Will. III. v. Louis XIV.)

2. War of the Spanish Succession 1702—1713 : (Marlborough v. Louis XIV.) England gained Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay Territory, Gibraltar and Minorca.
3. War of the Austrian Succession 1741—48. Collisions between England and France in N. America and India.
4. Irregular reprisals in N. America and India.
5. Seven Years War 1756—63. English supremacy established in N. America and India.
6. War of American Revolution 1778—83. Loss of United States through French assistance to them.
7. War of French Revolution 1793—1802 } English dominions
8. War of Napoleon 1803—15 } extended in India
and Australasia.

THE STANDING ARMY.

- i. *Ordinary and lawful.*
 - a. Feudal levies—abolished in 1661.
 - b. National Militia (Fyrd) in which all freemen were bound to serve.
2. *Extraordinary and unlawful.*
 - a. Body-guard of King, and Garrisons of Tower, Tilbury, etc.
 - b. Pressed levies—frequently forbidden—but used under Tudors and Stuarts. 1641—declared illegal by Long Parl.
 - c. Mercenary Troops—employed in foreign warfare.
- i. Civil War ultimately broke out upon dispute as to command of Militia.
In Commonwealth a Standing Army was originated.
Cromwell's absolutism increased the antipathy to Army.
Restoration saw disbanding of Army.
- ii. Army increased gradually under Ch. ii. in spite of parlt. opposn.
One of the articles in Clarendon's Impeachment.
Jas. ii. on Monmouth's Rebelln., formed large army.
Bill of Rts. declared Standing Army, except with consent of Parlt. illegal.
Mutiny Act 1688, suspended this for one year.
Annually passed since, and Standing Army becomes permanent.
- iii. But the prejudice continued, e.g. 1697 after P. of Ryswick, Parlt. insisted on dismissal of Dutch Guards.
Marlborough's request to be made General for life caused extreme alarm.
Fr. Revoln. and Peninsular War reconciled Nation to the Army.

CHAUCER. (1340-1400).

Employed at Court and on several foreign embassies, and thus probably met Petrarch. Wrote (during Ed. III., Rich. II., and Henry IV.) large number of poems *in English*. His works marked by cheerfulness and humour, and valuable for their

pictures of contemporary life. Most famous are "*Canterbury Tales*": stories told by pilgrims going to shrine of S. Thomas Becket. Many are from foreign sources (e.g. Petrarch) but the Prologue is wholly English and original.

The *Knight* and *Squire* represents the mock chivalry of the period.

Ecclesiastics—Monks and Friars held up to ridicule as fond of good living rather than good life. Officials of Pope and Ecclesiastical Courts—show the real abuses in the Church were mainly due to the connection with Rome. Parish Priest—an entire contrast, altogether admirable.

Tradespeople—show prosperity, existence of Gilds.

LANGLAND. (1331-1400).

An entire contrast to Chaucer. A poor cleric: gives terrible picture of the misery of the poorest classes just before the Peasant revolt in "*Piers the Plowman*."

The poet seeks for Truth, and representatives of Virtues, Vices, Classes, etc., come before him, and offer to lead him to his desire. All are criticised and rejected, till Piers the Plowman appears; the character is one of typical Perfection, and often is blended and confused with Christ Himself.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE (to A.D. 1154).

Begun under Alfred but reviewed History from the landing of the English in Britain. This is the earliest History, which any European nation possesses in its own tongue. Under Dunstan learning was associated with monasteries, so the monks of Worcester continued the Chronicle. After Henry I.'s reign Chronicle was carried on at Peterborough.

DEFINITIONS.

Ferm—fixed sums paid by Counties and Towns as composition for all royal dues.

Danegeld—a tax on every hide (60-80 acres) of land. First levied by Ethelred II. Re-imposed by William I. Re-appeared (Rich. I.) as *Carucage*.

Tallage—tax levied from towns and lands on Royal domain. Often caused annoyance in Ed. I. (cf. 1297). Abolished Ed. III. (1340).

Subsidies—regular taxes (on property) voted by Parliament (first in Rich. II.)

Customs—duties or tolls on Exports and Imports. First became important branch of Revenue in Ed. I. Remained solely under control of king till Stuart times.

Maletolte—The amounts of Customs became definite early in Ed. I., and exactions in excess of these rates were regarded as oppressive and were termed *Mala Tolta*. Great complaints of them in 1297.

Investiture—ceremony of giving Bp. his ring and staff (cf. Anselm).

Homage—the ceremony which bound the vassal to serve his lord, and the lord to protect his vassal.

Allegiance—The Duty which every subject owed, to be faithful to the head of the nation.

Feudal Levy—the country was divided into Knight's Fees, and the holder of each had to furnish an armed horseman for forty days during war.

Fyrd—the national militia, service in which was required from every freeman. Retained by Conqueror and Norman Kings, to whom it did good service (cf. Assize of Arms 1181, the Statute of Winchester 1285).

Distraint of Knighthood—Ed. I. compelled all worth £40 a year to take up Knighthood.

Ordinances—(cf. also 1310), differed from Statutes as follows :

1. Issued by King in Council, not by Parliament.
2. Temporary in character.
3. Executive not legislative.

Feudal Rights—

Aids—three regular Aids (cf. William II.) But often irregular and illegal (cf. William II.)

Reliefs—sums paid to the lord by heir before entering on possession of his lands (cf. Magna Carta).

Marriage—lord had power to dispose of a female ward in suitable marriage.

Wardship—lord had custody of minors and their lands, without having to render accounts of profits.

Entail—prevented possessor from alienating his lands from his heirs.

Hundred—the union of a number of townships for the purpose of judicial administration, peace and defence.

Impeachment is a form of trial in which the House of Lords are the Judges and the House of Commons the accusers. First used (1376) in Good Parliament. After lying unused under the Tudors this method of attacking powerful Ministers of State was revived under the Stuarts. In James I.'s reign Bacon was impeached ; in Charles I., Buckingham, Strafford, and Laud ; in Charles II., Clarendon and Danby. Later used for Party purposes, e.g. Oxford and Bolingbroke, Hastings.

Attainder is an Act of Parliament used in cases where the offence is difficult to prove, e.g., Strafford and Fenwick. As Ministers of State became responsible to Parliament the need for Attainder and Impeachment practically passed away.

The National Debt. The Goldsmiths were the early " Bankers " ; with them valuables were deposited and they were also willing to lend money at interest. Charles II. made considerable use of them : his debts soon exceeded a

million pounds. In 1672 he announced that he would not repay the principal but only the interest. This eventually formed the nucleus of the National Debt, which was definitely begun in 1693 by Charles Montague in a loan for the expenses of William III.'s war with Louis XIV. He also founded the Bank of England 1694 to negotiate a further loan, and managed the restoration of the currency in 1695, both of which did much to place the financial arrangements of the Government upon a sound basis.

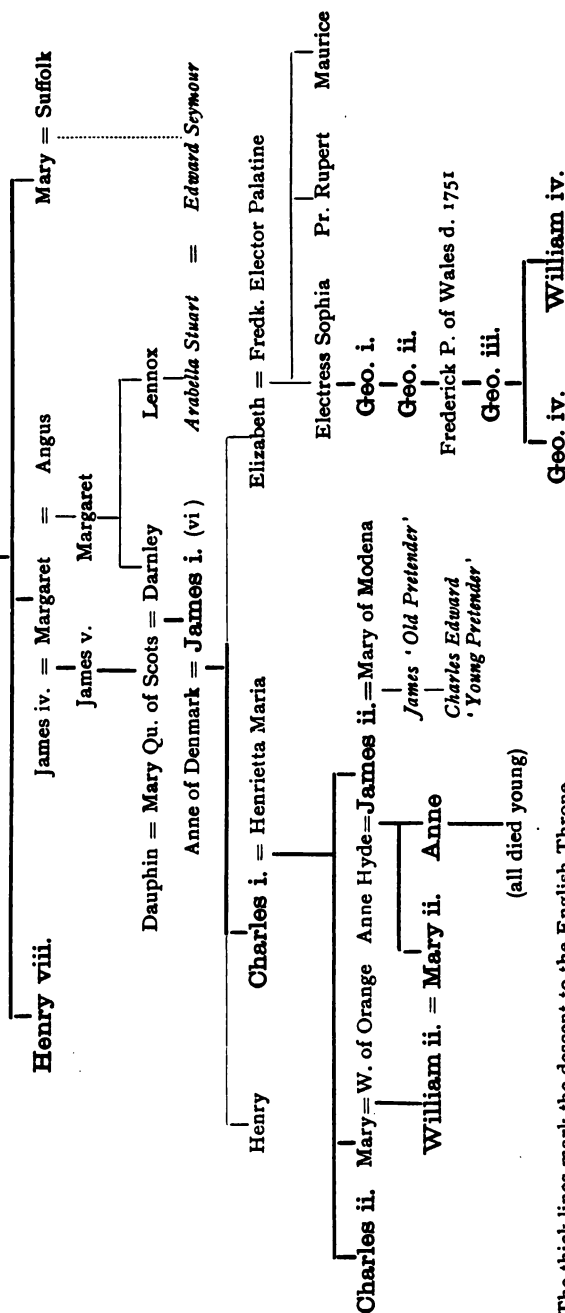
Monopolies—the sole right to sell an article. Often sold or given to Companies, *e.g.*, E. India Co. Declared illegal in Elizabeth's reign but continued and increased under James: Mompesson impeached by his 3rd Parlt. for holding monopolies. Charles I. revived them during "Eleven Years' Tyranny," granting them to companies instead of to individuals. They differed from Patents in being obtained by influence of payment instead of as the reward for industry or ingenuity.

JACOBITE ATTEMPTS.

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1689 | 1. "Bonnie Dundee's" rising in Scotland: he used the rivalry between Highlanders and Campbells to raise a rebellion against William III. Dundee killed at Killiecrankie. |
| 1689—91 | 2. Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, helped by French, in Ireland. Ended by T. of Limerick. |
| 1696 | 3. Berwick's attempt to persuade French to invade England 1696. |
| 1696—7 | 4. Assassination Plot by Barclay, Fenwick, etc., (the most important of many similar plots). |
| 1708 | 5. The 'Old Pretender' took advantage of the discontent evoked by the Union with Scotland. French Fleet defeated by Byng in Firth of Forth. |
| 1714 | 6. Bolingbroke intended to bring in the "Old Pretender" on Anne's death, but his plans failed through (a) divisions among the Tory leaders, (b) the loyalty of Privy Council to Act of Settlement, (c) his own timidity at the critical moment. |
| 1715 | 7. The 'Old Pretender.' |
| 1745 | 8. The 'Young Pretender.' |

THE HOUSES OF STUART AND HANOVER.

Henry VII.



The thick lines mark the descent to the English Throne.

English Sovereigns are in **thick type**.

Claimants in 1603 and Stuart 'Pretenders,' after the Revolution are in *Italics*.

CHART OF THE (1st) CIVIL WAR.

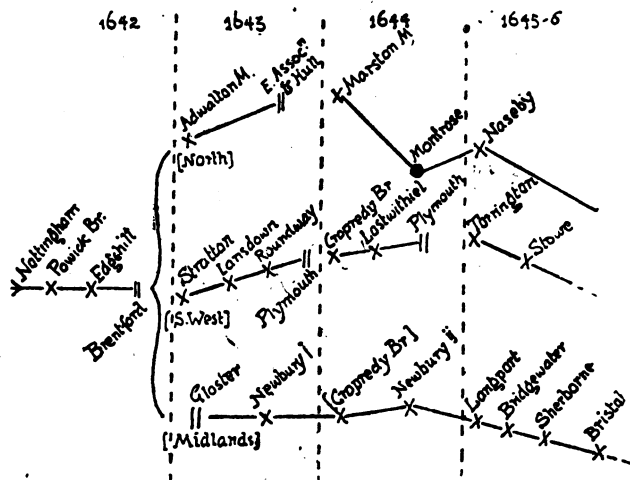


CHART OF WILLIAM III's WAR WITH FRANCE.

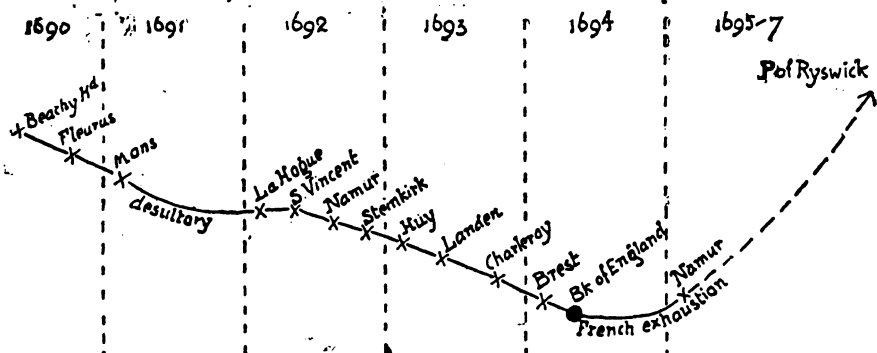
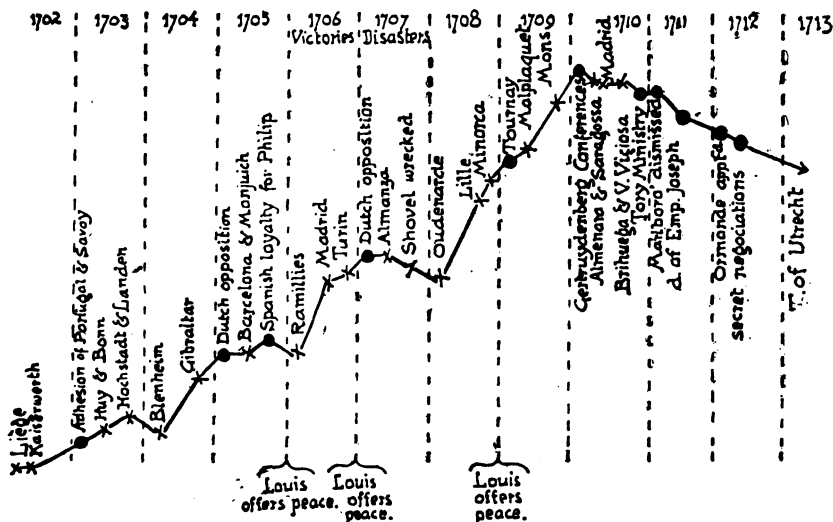
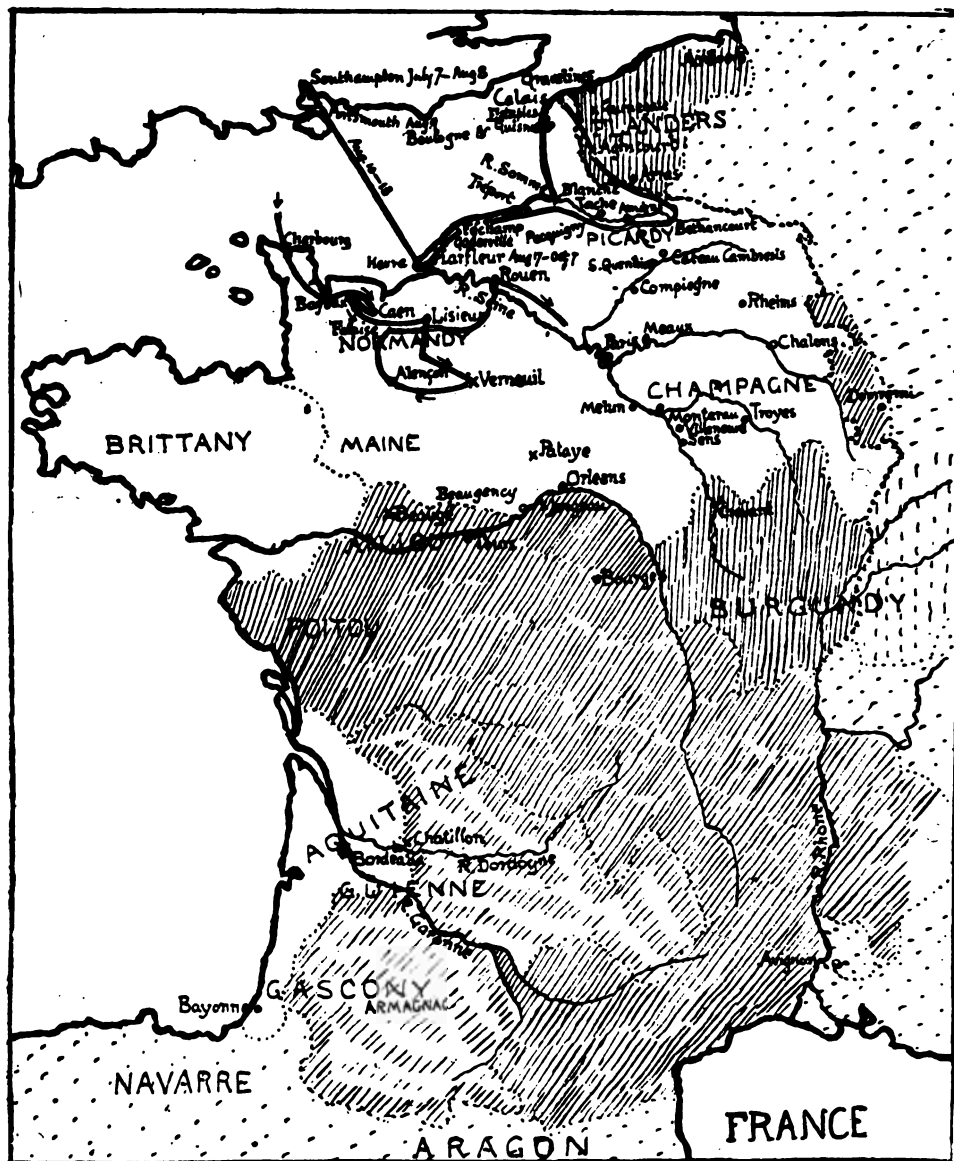


CHART OF THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

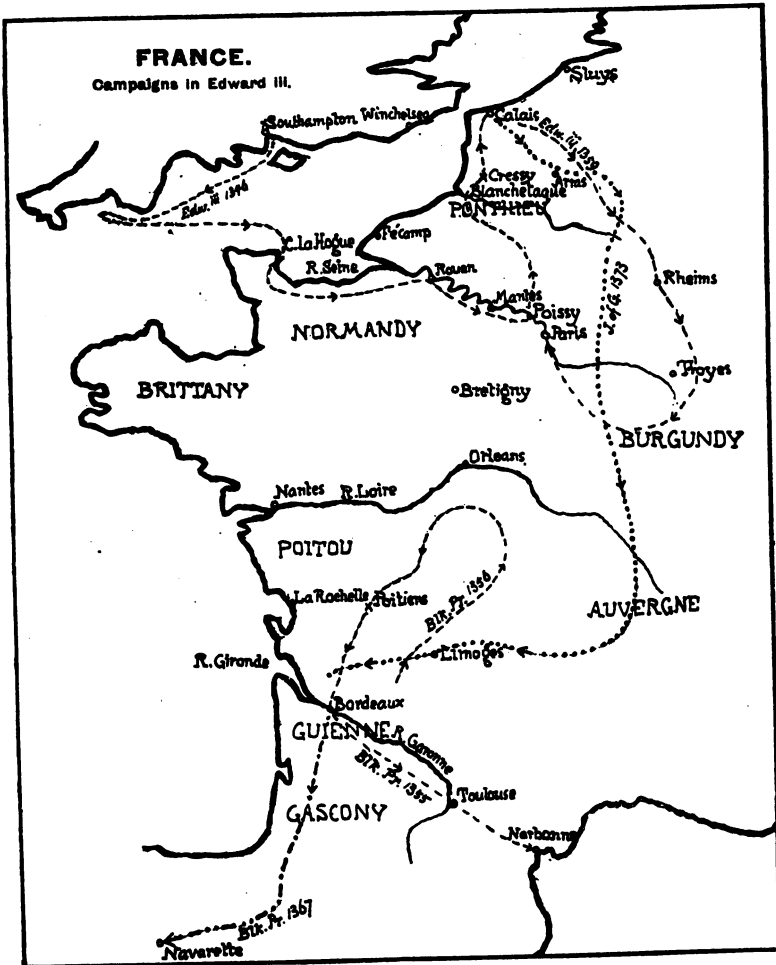




EDWARD III. 1360, Peace of Bretigny. England secured Calais, Ponthieu (the district round mouth of Somme), Poitou, and the partially shaded districts (Guienne and Gascony).

HENRY V. 1421-2, At death of Henry V. England held all the unshaded portion (including those parts of Guienne and Gascony which are only partially shaded) *except* Brittany.

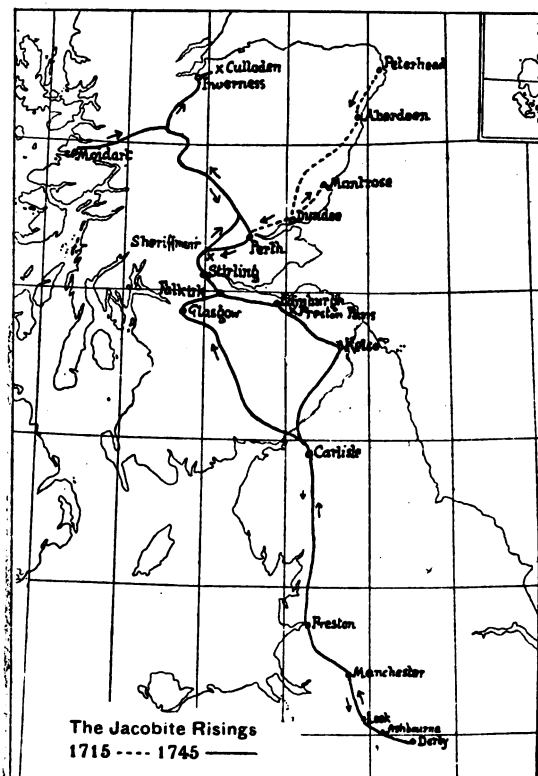
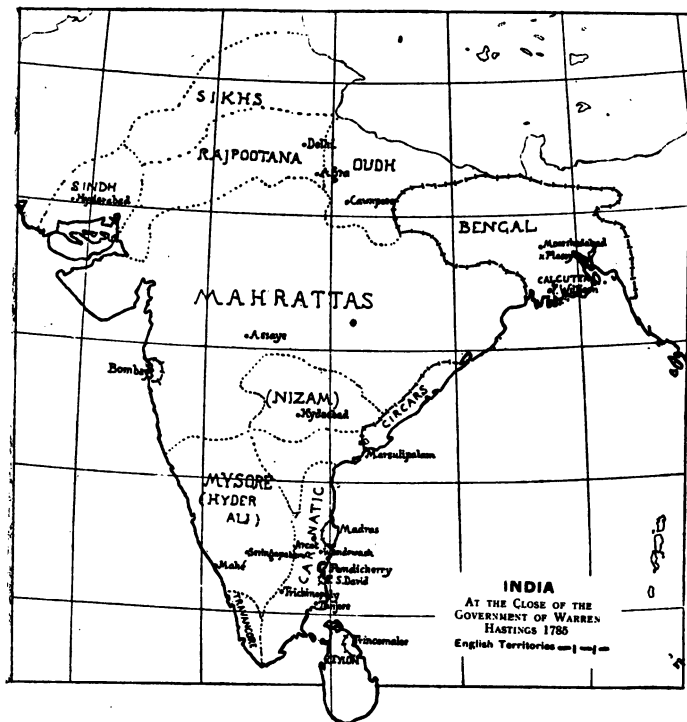
HENRY VI. By 1428 all unshaded portions were in English hands, including Brittany (by Bedford's marriage-alliance in 1423,) though the partially shaded parts of Guienne and Gascony had submitted to France.

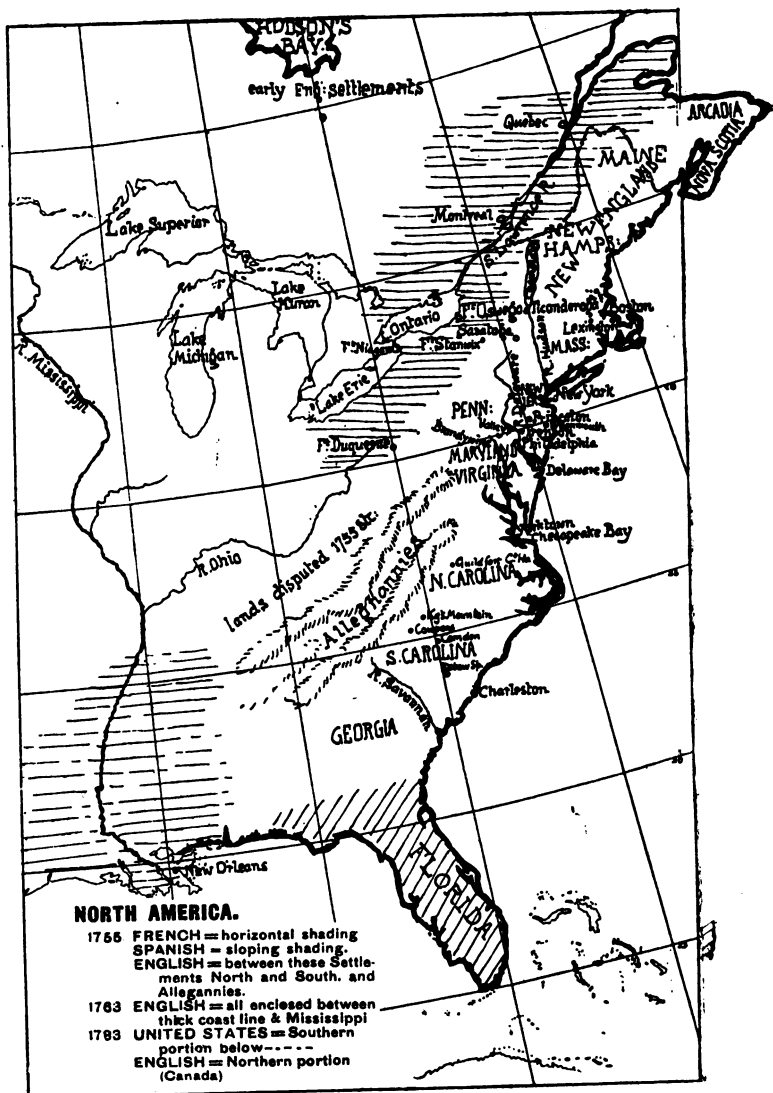












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